



Daily Report

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Moiseyev Attends Military Doctrine Seminar

Says USSR Sets 'Example'

LD2001100590 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Remarks by Chief of Staff of the USSR Armed Forces M.A. Moiseyev at a press conference at the NATO-Warsaw Pact military doctrine seminar in Vienna; date not given; from the "Vremya" newscast—live or recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] The seminar on military doctrines is continuing its work in Vienna.

[Correspondent V. Mikheyev] The outlining of military doctrines by the chiefs of staff of the NATO and Warsaw Pact armies inevitably should lead to a reduction of mutual mistrust and hostility because a better understanding of each other will emerge. The Soviet delegation is drawing attention in speeches and debates, including at press conferences, to the main issue in the Soviet military doctrine: henceforth defensive operations will be the primary type of action of the Soviet Armed Forces in the case of attack on our Fatherland, and the composition and structure of the armed forces will in the future be determined according to the principle of reasonable sufficiency for defense. This is why in the near future they are to be reduced unilaterally by 500,000 men. [video shows seminar in progress—Colin Powell and A.G. Moiseyev are among those present; later video of press conference]

[Army General M.A. Moiseyev] [Video shows Moiseyev speaking into a microphone which is wavering, indicating this likely is an exclusive interview; no correspondent is shown] Yes, we were the first to set the example, having begun to reduce unilaterally our armed forces and restructure them onto a defensive structure. By our practical deeds in the military sphere, the Soviet Union gives an invitation to follow its example.

Delivers Concluding Speech

LD1901214190 Moscow TASS in English 2126 GMT
19 Jan 90

[Text] Vienna January 19 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladimir Smelov:

The first stage of the seminar on military doctrines, which was convened on the initiative of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation under the agreement reached within the framework of the Vienna talks on confidence- and security-building measures in Europe, has ended here.

At the seminar the heads of the general staffs of the European countries, the United States and Canada presented their military doctrines and concepts.

Delivering concluding remarks, General Mikhail Moiseyev, first deputy defence minister of the USSR and head of the Soviet delegation, put forward two specific proposals. He spoke out for putting such meetings on the heads of general staffs on a regular basis.

"We could get together in a year at a similar seminar to discuss the evolution of our military doctrines in the direction of defence and how they should be further modified in the light of the implementation of an agreement on reducing conventional armed forces in Europe," Moiseyev noted.

He said it would be expedient to hold such a conference within the framework of the CSCE process. Its relevance is being enhanced as the need for the Helsinki-2 summit is ripening and its convocation can be quite real.

The second proposal concerns the elaboration of impartial criteria to define the nature of military doctrines. As the situation in Europe is rapidly changing, it is expedient to display restraint in the military activity and not to scare each other, which is fraught with the threat of destabilisation.

It would be important to work out possible criteria to appraise the nature of a military threat, define the confronting parties' potentials, the military doctrines' evolution towards defence and re-organisation of the armed forces of the two alliances on the principles of reasonable sufficiency for defence, Moiseyev stressed.

Interviewed by PRAVDA

PM2001223090 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 Jan 90 Second Edition p 6

[Interview with Army General M. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, by PRAVDA correspondent I. Melnikov in Vienna: "Removing Suspicion"; date of interview not given; first three paragraphs are PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] During these January days of sunshine and warmth that remind the Viennese of spring, the Austrian capital has been the scene of an event that is frankly unprecedented. Representatives of the 35 CSCE states met under the soaring roof of the Hofburg Palace to discuss military doctrines frankly and as far as possible without prejudice. For the chiefs of general staffs to conduct a discussion like this, at a single table, defending their own viewpoints—no, nothing like it has happened before.

The seminar, for which the Warsaw Pact states put forward the initiative back in 1987, is to last until 6 February. Military experts are to study thoroughly the details of doctrines and concepts. But the main protagonists, the leaders of general staffs, have already had their say, their discussion is over.

PRAVDA correspondent I. Melnikov put a number of questions to Army General M. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister, the head of our delegation.

[Melnikov] The first days of the seminar's work allow us to say that the participants immediately and irreversibly established the work style—an animated and frank debate on the military doctrines presented. What was your contribution based on?

[Moiseyev] The first and most important idea, to which I drew attention at the very beginning of my speech, is that Soviet foreign policy is today determined by the new political thinking. Its most important tenets are based on recognition of the paramount importance of panhuman values, the unacceptability of war as a means of pursuing policy, the senselessness of the arms race, and the need for new approaches to ensuring international and national security.

No weapon can now give any state the total certainty of reliable protection by military-technical means alone. Even the most powerful defenses, including those using a so-called "space shield," cannot guarantee such protection.

[Melnikov] For the audience that was listening to you, it was presumably relevant to expound both the main purpose of the Soviet Union's military doctrine and its practical thrust?

[Moiseyev] Naturally. I believe that the main idea reached every participant in the discussion. What was it, specifically? That the provisions of the doctrine and practical actions based on the legal norms of the Soviet state's fundamental law in the defense sphere are directed not toward preparing for war, but toward preventing it and strengthening international security.

Soviet military doctrine, like any other state's doctrine, has two organically interconnected aspects—the political and the military-technical. Characterizing the key provisions of the political aspect of our doctrine, I highlighted the following. First, the USSR does not pin its present and future on the military resolution of international problems. It unreservedly rejects war as a means of resolving interstate disputes and contradictions—whether economic, political, ideological, or anything else. Second, we regard the preservation of peace as the supreme panhuman task. The Soviet Union will never, in any circumstances, be the first to commence hostilities against any state. Third, the USSR threatens no one, does not intend to attack anyone, has no territorial claims against any state either in Europe or in other regions, and does not regard any people as its enemy. The fourth and last factor: On the basis of the fact that the approximate military equilibrium that exists at present between the two alliances remains for the time being a decisive factor in the prevention of war, the USSR will make efforts to maintain that balance, but at an ever lower level. We do not seek military superiority, and we regard the mutual reduction of nuclear and conventional arms to be a task of enormous historical significance.

[Melnikov] But a discussion is a discussion. One of your audience—for instance, British Marshal of Aviation David Craig—may have called to mind the well-known English saying: Good deeds are better than good intentions.

[Moiseyev] Well, if the discussion had taken such a turn, I would have been impressed. After all, everything that was said is enshrined in our legislative acts, reflected in field manuals, and confirmed by the military-technical element of the doctrine and by our practical actions in the defense sphere.

Are we not putting into practice the requirements of defense sufficiency? In the course of 1989-1990 our armed forces are being reduced unilaterally by half a million men—including 240,000 men, 10,000 tanks, 8,500 artillery systems, and 800 combat aircraft in the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and the European part of the USSR. In the east of the country the figure is 200,000 men, and in the south 60,000. The reduction plans adopted have been more than half fulfilled, and the rest will be implemented this year.

Structures are being altered in a defensive spirit. The number of military districts, armies, and combined troop divisions is being reduced. The correlation between offensive and defensive systems is changing in favor of the latter. The operational maneuver groups, the so-called "tank attack forces" [tankovyye kulaki], have been abolished.

Thus, at the risk of boring my Western colleagues with facts and figures, nonetheless I turned to statistics. I wanted to show graphically that our defensive military doctrine is not a propaganda campaign, not just a declaration, but guidance for action.

[Melnikov] What questions were raised in the course of the discussion?

[Moiseyev] From the nature of the questions I sensed that my speech had revealed many points of contact between our interests. Questions were asked by colleagues from the Netherlands, France, Norway, Denmark, Britain, Italy; as you can see, all these are representatives of NATO states. But the "neutrals" asked questions too. There was unfeigned interest. How, for instance, do you combine army reductions with reasonable defense sufficiency? Other questions concerned the structure of the armed forces and the military budget. The chief of the French general staff inquired, for instance, about point four of our military doctrine, which states that the USSR will make efforts to maintain the military equilibrium, but at an ever lower level. I cannot deny that my Western colleagues reacted sensitively to my remarks on naval forces. But why, one wonders, should we not be concerned about Washington's refusal to conduct any dialogue whatsoever either on reducing the fleet or on eliminating the navy's tactical nuclear weapons?

[Melnikov] What can you tell us about the conversations and direct contacts that took place?

[Moiseyev] There were many meetings that were businesslike and useful. Let me list the main ones: with Maurice Schmidt, head of the French delegation, and with Dieter Wellershoff, general inspector of the West German Bundeswehr, who raised the important subject of the principle of defense sufficiency. Wellershoff also stated frankly that war must not be unleashed from German territory.

The working meeting with Colin Powell, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, made a great impression. The nature of the discussion was open. My interlocutor was

very interesting and understands the essence of all our positions. He also considers himself a supporter of glasnost. C. Powell expressed satisfaction with the atmosphere of the Vienna seminar. I also noted the following interesting point. Speaking in the Hofburg Palace, C. Powell stated that changes on the question of American troops in Europe cannot be ruled out. In our conversation, he stressed this again. What specifically does he have in mind? I do not think it is only a question of restricting the military activity of U.S. subunits, of the holding of exercises and maneuvers. It is most likely a step toward an accommodation on the reduction of armed forces. Whether this step will be taken within the framework of the decisions of the Vienna talks, or in some other way, time will tell. I think the fifth round of the Vienna talks is capable of playing a good, constructive role.

But let me also talk frankly about what did not impress me in C. Powell's speech at the seminar. He claimed that the use of U.S. Armed Forces, including in Panama, allegedly served the defense of human rights. I think that this statement can hardly be taken seriously.

[Melnikov] How do you assess the upcoming restructuring of the Warsaw Pact Organization?

[Moiseyev] Present-day realities in the life of Eastern Europe cannot fail to have an impact on the Warsaw Pact Organization's activity. As is known, the Political Consultative Committee used to be headed by the general secretaries of the communist parties. Now, taking account of the fact that there is a multiparty situation in a number of Warsaw Pact countries, there will obviously be changes in the leadership of the Political Consultative Committee; it will assume different forms. Possibly heads of government will be represented on it, possibly presidents. The alliance will undergo changes in connection with the lowering of the level of military confrontation in Europe. Its defensive tasks remain valid, but at the same time it will begin to develop away from being a military-political alliance in the direction of a politico-military alliance.

[Melnikov] Returning in conclusion to the theme of the seminar, I would like to ask the following. Since the legendary meeting on the Elbe in 1945, Soviet military leaders have had virtually no professional contacts with their Western colleagues. What impression has this Vienna meeting left on you?

[Moiseyev] An excellent impression, and it is not a question of painting a rosy picture of it. Today it still cannot be said that the war danger has vanished. There is no way you can describe a number of provisions in the

U.S. and NATO doctrines as peacemaking. Some people continue to seek to exert pressure on us from a position of strength.

But neither is it possible to ignore the gratifying changes. In Vienna, for example, I did not hear confrontational statements. A good sign! Each person's position was spelled out in a calm and businesslike atmosphere. Also, the questions that were raised here were not raised to tie a partner in knots or put him in an uncomfortable position.

Today we are possibly not yet in a position to assess the significance of the Vienna seminar. Even recently a meeting at which Eastern and Western chiefs of general staff would openly discuss national military doctrines would have seemed a fantasy. Literally yesterday this was an area which was only talked about in whispers. Today it has been submitted for all-European discussion; tomorrow the discussion could be global. Yes, global, because thought must be given to also holding such seminars on other continents. Ways to preserve peace need to be sought jointly.

CSSR Troop Withdrawal Talks Summarized

PM1901115590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 18 Jan 90 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Draft Agreement Submitted"]

[Text] Prague, 17 Jan—The first round of Soviet-Czechoslovak talks on questions connected with Soviet troops on the territory of Czechoslovakia was held here 15 and 16 January.

The USSR delegation at the talks was headed by USSR Deputy Foreign Minister I.P. Aboimov and the CSSR delegation by CSSR Deputy Foreign Minister E. Vacek.

During the talks there was a preliminary discussion of the political, military, international law, financial, and other aspects of the problem. There was a constructive exchange of opinions, which allowed the participants to acquaint themselves with the other side's positions, including that on the question of the withdrawal of troops.

The Czechoslovak delegation submitted a draft agreement on a stage-by-stage withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovak territory, indicating specific dates, and also a proposal on the procedure for tackling the question of the troops' status during the withdrawal period.

In view of the fact that some questions require further study, both sides agreed that the talks would be continued in Moscow in the first week of February at the latest.

I.P. Aboimov was received by CSSR Foreign Minister I. Dienstbier.

Global Forum on Environment Concludes in Moscow**PRAVDA Previews Forum***PM1801100790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
13 Jan 90 Second Edition p 6*

[Article by A. Lyutyy: "Responsible Citizens of the Planet: Forum in Moscow"]

[Text] Take a look at this emblem: Two small human figures carefully supporting the earth's globe. Our green planet is very fragile and very vulnerable. The threat of total ecological pollution has been added to the threat of nuclear destruction, which has yet to be taken off the agenda of global problems.

This is the emblem of the nongovernmental organization "Global Forum of Spiritual and Parliamentary Leaders on Problems of Mankind's Survival," which was created a few years ago. Parliamentarians and church figures united in it out of their desire to save the world from nuclear and ecological death. But they are not alone. In April 1988 I had an opportunity to cover this organization's first world congress in Oxford, which brought together more than 200 people from 64 countries. For several days parliamentarians and churchmen, scientists and journalists, and representatives of other professions lived together in the old university city's student halls of residence and fathomed each other's problems—a cross section of mankind seeking answers to the challenges of the contemporary world. The participants in the Oxford event enshrined in their concluding declaration that they would act as "responsible citizens of the world" in the struggle against the nuclear, ecological, and other global threats, elevating universal human values above all else. Only thus can the world survive.

The Oxford declaration is in many respects in harmony with the principles of the new political thinking proclaimed by our country. Therefore, there is a certain symbolism in the fact that the "Global Forum" will hold its second congress in Moscow 15-19 January.

Its organizational, conceptual, and thematic framework will be considerably broader than at the Oxford meeting. The co-organizers of the second congress are the USSR Supreme Soviet, the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Russian Orthodox Church, and the scientists' organization "International Foundation for Mankind's Survival and Development." There is exceptionally great interest in the meeting; instead of the planned 700, it will be attended by about 1,000 participants (approximately 650 of whom will be from abroad).

An address by M.S. Gorbachev is planned in the congress program. The expected guests include UN Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar; UNESCO Director General Federico Mayor; UNICEF Executive Director James Grant; Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland; U.S. Senators Claiborne Pell and Albert

Gore; and world-famous scientists and research workers Carl Sagan, Jacques-Yves Cousteau, and Yevgeniy Velikhov.

Work will be done not only at plenary sittings but also at "roundtables" on specific topics. A joint radio and television transmission to 129 countries with an audience of more than 2 billion people is planned during the congress through efforts by the "Intersputnik" and "Intelsat" international organizations. And while on the subject of mass media, it would be appropriate to mention that a mini-forum on "Coverage of Survival Problems" will be held for us press workers today and tomorrow, with help from the USSR Foreign Ministry's Information Administration.

The forthcoming event in Moscow is large and representative. But some people might ask: Is this not just a pointless talking shop? By way of an answer, let me cite a statement by Peruvian Senator Manuel Ulloa, cochairman of the congress preparatory committee: "The Soviet initiative to conduct such a forum was launched at a most favorable time. It reflects the Soviet leaders' desire to advance specific ideas and to help solve the most acute global problems."

By organizing such meetings, we not only demonstrate before the whole world our openness and goodwill, but we also enrich ourselves by absorbing some most valuable intellectual and spiritual material and jointly creating an atmosphere promoting the easing of mistrust and tension in the world. This is much more than just recouping any organizational costs.

Here is another highly symbolic fact. The opening of the Moscow congress coincides in time with the 4th anniversary of the program for eliminating nuclear weapons by the year 2000 proclaimed by our government. This plan appeared utopian to many people until quite recently. Now it is materializing in specific steps for the elimination of Soviet and U.S. intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles. I am convinced that this process became possible not only thanks to the perspicacious and responsible actions of specific political leaders, but also thanks to changes in mankind's awareness. A considerable role in stimulating these changes was played by forums similar to the one due to be held in Moscow.

Gorbachev 20 Jan Address*PM2201122190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
20 Jan 90 Second Edition p 6*

[Speech by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, to the Global Forum on Environmental Protection and Development for Survival in Moscow on 19 Jan]

[Text] Our esteemed guests! Ladies and gentlemen! Comrades!

The 5 days you have spent here in Moscow in an atmosphere of intensive creative communication, your

meaningful discussions and the documents you have adopted give grounds for saying that an important step has been taken in forming mankind's ecological awareness. This is extremely topical.

The threat of a military thermonuclear catastrophe was understood before. Scientists made an indispensable contribution to this, too. International forces at all levels—political, diplomatic, and public—have already been mobilized to remove this threat, and the first results are evident. But another threat now impends, the seriousness of which was until recently obviously inadequately assessed—a threat to life on earth as a result of despoliation of the habitable environment.

Great minds of the past foresaw the consequences of man's unthinking "subjugation" of nature. They warned: By destroying the plant and animal world and poisoning the soil, water, and air, the human race may destroy itself. By the end of the 20th century, we have the most acute crisis in relations between man, society, and nature.

One can assert, to paraphrase Immanuel Kant, that the **ecological imperative** has powerfully entered the politics of states and the people's everyday life. It is not only because the damage already inflicted upon nature is difficult to put right that this imperative is taking on a unconditional nature. The new scientific, technical, and technological revolution, all the consequences of which we are as yet unaware, may make this damage irreversible.

Unlike certain out-and-out pessimists, we are not fatalists. However, the hour of decisions has come, the hour for a historic choice. And for the reasonable person there is no alternative, since he is not predisposed to suicide. Humanity is part of the biosphere, and it—the biosphere—is a single whole.

We are providing ourselves with vital resources at the expense of the products of past biospheres. And we must not forget that clean water, oxygen in the air, and soil productivity are the result of the interaction of hundreds of thousands of species of plants, animals, and microorganisms, the components of the ecosystem. The durability of ecosystems and, consequently, the quality of the environment, depends on preserving and maintaining biological diversity and the balance of the biosphere. Your forum said unambiguously that something must be very fundamentally changed in the factors of further progress—changed to guarantee man's original right: the right to life. We agree with that conclusion.

I have to admit that it is only recently that the entire and vital significance of the ecological problem has been realized in the Soviet Union at the level of policy. The threat of war clouded our eyes. There's nothing to either add to or subtract from this, as the saying goes. But that is not all there is to it. After the revolution, having launched the industrialization of the country, we were not inclined "to be distracted" into what we then thought of as secondary matters and even less to spend

our limited means on these objectives. The size of the country and its riches encouraged this carefree attitude toward ecology.

Even when environmental pollution in a number of areas began to assume dangerous proportions, this was not properly appreciated right away.

The ecological alarm was raised—let us give them their due—by our scientists and then by the public. Perestroika, having changed the actual philosophical approaches to the problems of social development, also has radically changed our views on ecology. Recently a detailed report on the national ecological situation, the first in the history of the Soviet state, was published in this country. This "Green Book" has provided an impartial analysis of our misfortunes and dangers. Atmospheric pollution over a number of major cities exceeds the permissible level. The state of water resources is fraught with serious consequences for fauna and flora. soils are degrading. Harm is being done to the health of people. The viability of future generations is called into question.

In its decision on "the main directions of the USSR's domestic and foreign policy," the First Congress of People's Deputies predetermined profound reconsideration of our whole development, including our attitude toward nature and the path toward the greening of our politics. What do we understand by this? **Above all, a radical change of the nature of our production activity from the viewpoint of its ecological consequences.** We must take into account the ecological capacity of the territories when we place economic complexes there. We must compare the possibilities of the ecological systems of individual regions with the appropriate national economic plans and take this into account in the demographic, regional, and national policies. What is involved here is, of course, the consistent and stringent application of measures for nature protection, the actual technology used in the industry and agriculture, being economical with energy and resources, and the introduction of closed-cycle technologies and production plants.

The greening of politics is a new view of the problem of consumption and its rationalization. Raising people's living standards must not take place at the cost of exhausting nature but should be accompanied by the conservation and renewal of the living conditions of the plant and animal world.

The greening of politics also creates approaches to tackling many social tasks, connected primarily with damage to people's health as a result of the harm already done to the environment.

The greening of politics means maximum support for scientific research and fundamental disciplines which study the biosphere and its ecosystem.

The greening of politics is an affirmation of the priority of values common to humanity, enriching education and upbringing with ecological content from childhood

onwards and developing a new and contemporary attitude toward nature. And, at the same time, it is the return to mankind of his awareness of himself as a part of nature. The moral improvement of society is inconceivable without this.

We have already embarked upon the fundamental restructuring of the whole matter of environmental protection within the country. Target programs according to region or facility have been endorsed or are in the stages of development. The USSR Supreme Soviet has adopted a resolution "urgent measures for the country's ecological improvement." Work is coming to an end on a draft for a long-term state program of environmental protection and the rational use of natural resources. It envisages gradually attaining by the year 2000 (according to some parameters by 2005) normative environmental quality and the conservation of the specific diversity of biological resources and scientifically well-founded indicators for the use of natural wealth.

In other words, there lies a huge amount of work ahead to harmonize the relationship between man and nature. And there is a place for everyone in this: For legislative and executive bodies, science and education, public organizations and movements, and individual initiative.

Public organizations for the protection of nature have become widespread in our country. It must be said that they have struck powerful blows against technocratic lack of understanding and resistance in this area as well. Sometimes, it is true, as in other countries, the actions of our "greens" suffer from exaggeration. While passionately protecting nature, one must not encroach upon the population's very life-support systems. To quite simply close down this or that production facility is, of course, simplistic—although we do have to resort even to this because the problem has been neglected. But in principle such an indiscriminate approach to the business of saving nature will not produce great results but could cause great damage to the development of society's productive forces and consequently to the opportunities for preserving nature at the current level.

What is the best solution here? At the basis of a rational distribution of production forces, energy, and other facilities of statewide importance there must also lie an obligatory requirement for ecological safety with the inclusion of impartial expert scientific advice; if necessary, international advice too.

I want to speak especially about the growing importance of the monitoring by the USSR Supreme Soviet and republican and other soviets of the implementation of any program to do with the ecological state of society.

I would also like to draw your attention to the following point. On the territory of our enormous country there are also untouched ecosystems. In this connection we ascribe great importance to the creation of national parks and other protected territories. By the year 2000 their area should grow approximately three times. These are unique natural laboratories, to be found from the

islands of the Arctic to the Caucasus and Central Asia. They can serve as standards of virgin nature, as well as of objects for international cooperation among ecologists.

Gentlemen!

In different countries the ecological situation is shaping up differently. Many have some interesting experience in nature protection activity. And our starting point is that any successful experience is worth everybody's attention and practical application. The ecological crisis we are undergoing is a convincing, if tragic, proof of the fact that the world is indeed interconnected, interdependent. Nowadays this seems to be accepted everywhere.

But from this it follows that a corresponding **international policy is needed in the sphere of ecology as well.** Only provided that such a policy exists, only jointly can we stave off the tragedy. Of course, the working out of such a policy raises unusual and tough questions, at times concerning state sovereignty. Still, this is a solvable task, but here too on the basis of collective efforts and the search for consensus. At your forum much of interest has been said on how a worldwide ecological policy might take form, and we will think about everything that has been said. I want to assure you about this. In principle the Soviet Union is for the energetic and urgent elaboration of an international program on saving the biosphere and restoring its living forces. I will speak about our basic ideas on this question.

First, the Soviet Union resolutely supports the nature protection plans and actions of our worldwide universal United Nations and its bodies. We want the UN environment and development conference planned for 1992 in Brasilia to be held at summit level. (applause) It would probably be right if the issue of drawing up an **international code of ecological ethics** were raised there. (applause) Being obligatory for all states, this would contain common criteria for a civilized attitude toward nature. Such an undertaking would symbolize a readiness on the part of the world community, in the person of its top representatives, to construct life in the 21st century according to new laws. The 1992 conference could also adopt a **global action program** on environmental protection and rational use of natural resources. This would embrace defending the earth's climate, protecting the planet's flora and fauna, and preserving biological diversity, without which it would be impossible to preserve the regulating properties of the biosphere, and consequently, of life on earth itself.

Second, the Soviet Union considers it essential to draw up a **regime of international law to protect unique natural zones** of worldwide importance. This applies above all to Antarctica. The many meters thick crust of Antarctic ice is an invaluable repository of the earth's past, its geological and ecological history. Significantly, it was Antarctica that became the world's first nuclear-free zone and the first territory on the planet completely open for international scientific research. The Soviet Union shares the concern of many scientists and public figures

over the exploitation of the Antarctic's natural resources. Our grandchildren will not forgive us if we fail to preserve that phenomenal ecosystem.

The USSR is ready to take part in securing the viability of the Antarctic, a universal nature reserve, our common natural laboratory.

There is the problem of the Danube and the Black and Mediterranean Seas. Seventy-five percent of the pollution flowing into the Black Sea comes from the Danube. The upper limit of the hydrogen sulphide stratum in it has over recent decades risen from a depth of 200 meters to 75 meters from the surface. A little more, and it will flow through the entrance to the Bosphorus into the Sea of Marmara and the Aegean and Mediterranean Seas. However, only Bulgaria, Romania, Turkey and the USSR are involved in the Black Sea agreements. Can we resolve the Black Sea problem by cleaning up the Dnieper, Dniester, and Azov alone, without the Danube and without the countries situated along its course? Can the problems of conserving the Mediterranean Sea be resolved without the Black Sea countries and without the USSR? It is high time for us all to think about this together.

And is not mankind's "ecological heritage"—such as tropical forests and coral reefs—in need of universal concern? Or unrepeatable natural phenomena such as Baykal?

Third, the Soviet Union considers the creation of an international mechanism of **technological cooperation** on nature conservation to be an issue of some urgency. The integrity of world civilization demands unity of action in this sphere, too. We are in favor of drawing up a system of international exchanges of ecologically clean technologies, to which all countries—without exception—would be effectively guaranteed access on a most-favored nation basis. Furthermore, we are ready to allow inspection on our territory to remove any suspicion regarding the inappropriate use of technology.

It is for this reason that I share the concern which was expressed here—namely, that there were few representatives of the business world at this meeting in Moscow. This shortcoming must be surmounted at subsequent meetings. (applause) And I hope that Dr Hammer will be a connecting link between this present meeting and future ones. We wish him a long life.

Fourth, the transition to new forms of cooperation worthy of the 21st century places the need to have an **international mechanism of ecological monitoring and verification** on the agenda. Ecological confidence measures today can be backed up by methods, procedures, and instruments analogous to those which are applied in verifying [kontrol] arms reductions, including on-site inspection. We could start by opening national nature reserves.

Fifth, the right to a healthy environment is a human right. (applause) But **the right for an individual or for a**

group of people to take part in developing an ecological policy must also be guaranteed. The Soviet Union shares this conclusion of the ecological conference of the states party to the all-European process in Sofia. It presupposes complete and authentic ecological information. An order is needed whereby each state would, on a regular basis, present reports on its environmental protection activities and on ecological incidents, both those which have taken place and those it was possible to avert.

The European Community members are now actively discussing matters of the organization and functions of a European **environmental agency**. The Soviet Union supports the idea of setting up an agency and is ready to join in its work right from the start. There are ideas deserving of attention—for example, a proposal from Austria to set up international detachments of nature protectors, "UN green berets." Perhaps it really would be worth setting up a sort of international "green cross" which would come to the aid of states in the event of ecological disaster. (applause) The USSR's proposal to set up a center for emergency ecological aid under the United Nations is in this vein.

We see the main task of the center in setting up international task forces of experts who would travel to localities where the ecological situation has gotten seriously worse. The UN secretary-general will soon be sent a list of Soviet scientists and specialists whom the USSR Government will be ready to dispatch to the localities at its own expense on instructions from the center.

Sixth, as they say, last but not least: The Soviet Union considers that the time has come when **it is essential to limit military activity not only to decrease the risk of war, but also because of the necessity of preserving the environment**. The most correct and decisive step here would be a complete ban on nuclear tests. (applause) Before your prestigious international forum I once again state the Soviet Union's readiness at any moment to end nuclear tests completely and forever if the United States will also do the same.

In connection with the convention on the banning and complete elimination of chemical weapons, which we are hoping will soon be signed, the need is arising for ecologically safe technology to implement this task. Here too international cooperation is desirable, for we are faced with destroying tens of thousands of tons of this fearsome weapon. And, in general, military activity on land, in the air, in the seas and oceans, and even in space must be done with the ecological consequences borne in mind. With this aim we intend to introduce certain limitations concerning the flights of military aircraft and the movement of ground forces and of warships. We are also ready for international accords on this subject.

Esteemed gentlemen and friends!

It has often happened that this or that term, when it arose, had one meaning, but then with time, gained a new content. This has happened with the very term "ecology," which, born in the 19th century as a purely

scientific concept, today has a more momentous meaning for us. This has happened with the term "biosphere," which also appeared in the 19th century. In the great Russian scientist Vladimir Ivanovich Vernadskiy's works, this concept was given a new interpretation. He created the study of the biosphere and brought up the problem of turning the whole environment of human existence into a sphere of the supremacy of reason.

In conclusion I want to say to you: Everything that was discussed at your forum and its documents are a call for ensuring the triumph of the trinity of scientific knowledge, humanist reason, and universal morality. The task is as majestic as it is difficult. I wish all of you and all of us success. (applause)

Delegates Adopt Resolution

*LD1901190890 Moscow TASS in English 1855 GMT
19 Jan 90*

[Text] Moscow January 19 TASS—The participants in the global forum on environment and development for human survival which ended in Moscow today urged the governments and peoples of the world to confront the dangers of the deteriorating ecological situation squarely and courageously.

"The future of humanity and of our fellow creatures is at stake. We human beings have become a danger to ourselves," says the declaration of the forum adopted at its last meeting.

The declaration says people need to understand their immense and recently acquired power to alter nature.

"Technological solutions are indispensable but they alone are not enough. We must accept responsibility for adopting a spiritually wise, technologically sound, ethical and farsighted stewardship of the planet—and a renewed respect for nature on which all life depends," the declaration says.

Noting that this is an issue that transcends national, ideological and generational divisions, the participants in the forum emphasised the importance of uniting all people in dealing with the common peril.

The declaration sets out principles and understandings on which joint action for nature conservation must be founded. There is a need for radical change in ideas and attitudes. All people on earth, the spiritual community, parliaments, governments, international and other organisations, must accept their responsibilities in a concerted effort.

People must together learn how to live in greater harmony with the planet.

"The human race has never had greater economic, scientific and technological potential. We must find the will and the means to use it—for life," the declaration says.

Forum Concludes 19 Jan

*LD1901191290 Moscow TASS in English 1856 GMT
19 Jan 90*

[Text] Moscow January 19 TASS—A call on all governments and peoples of the earth to fight the danger of a further deterioration of the state of the global environment was issued by the global forum on the environment and development for survival, held in Moscow from January 15 to 19.

On the last day of its work at the Kremlin, the delegates adopted a declaration and a programme of action.

These documents noted the importance of joint action aimed at averting the environmental disaster and stressed the need to adopt a strategic global development plan.

The meeting of forum participants with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev was the culmination of the gathering. The Soviet leader in his address favoured the working out of an international policy in the environmental field.

The forum's co-chairman Sat Paul Mittal of India said in closing that the present global environmental situation is not a blind alley. The wisdom of development, he said, calls for replacing the present model of development with another, less energy consuming, less wasteful and less inhumane model.

The closer interaction of statesmen, politicians, scientists and religionists was favoured by the Supreme Mufti Sheikh Ahmed Keftaro of Syria.

Chairman of the global forum's International Consultative Committee Angier Biddle Duke called for enlisting the cooperation of representatives of business, defence and industries in the work of the forum.

"All projects for a better world will remain incomplete unless the chief players sit down with us at the same table," he said.

Delegates to Environmental Forum Hold Meetings

Nishanov Meets CSSR's Simuth

*PM1801145190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
18 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4*

[TASS report under the general heading: "Meetings Held"]

[Text] On 17 January R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, met with J. Simuth, deputy chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, who is participating in the work of the "Global Forum on Problems of the Environment and Development with a View to Survival."

The participants in the talks exchanged opinions on the progress of the radical changes occurring in both countries and noted their fundamental significance for the renewal of various aspects of life in the CSSR and the Soviet Union.

Petrovskiy, Senator Pell Confer

LD1901215990 Moscow TASS in English 1700 GMT
19 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 19 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy today received Clairborne Pell, chairman of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Senator Pell, who was on the U.S. delegation during the adoption of the U.N. Charter in San Francisco, expressed particular satisfaction with the revival of the role of the United Nations as a centre to coordinate actions by the world community member-states.

During the talk the sides thoroughly examined prospects for Soviet-U.S. interaction on trans-national problems, such as halting and reverting the process of deterioration in the environment. The mutual wish was expressed for making the allocation of funds for ecological needs an attending measure in the beginning disarmament process.

Petrovskiy, UN Official Meet

LD1901224190 Moscow TASS in English 1833 GMT
19 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 19 TASS—USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy met UNESCO Director-General Federico Mayor here today. They discussed UNESCO's role in the system of peace, security and cooperation, based on the U.N. Charter.

The sides concentrated on ensuring, with UNESCO's assistance, access to knowledge for every citizen of the earth and on creating a reliable ecological safety system in the world.

Mayor favoured the Soviet proposals on the need to take urgent international measures to protect the environment, including an emergency ecological aid centre and the establishment of a world-wide system of monitoring and environmental control.

Rogachev Meets Senator Wirth

LD1901215790 Moscow TASS in English 1702 GMT
19 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 19 TASS—USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev today received U.S. Senator Timothy Wirth who arrived in Moscow to participate in the global forum on the environment and development for survival.

The sides examined the military and political situation in the Asian-Pacific region. They discussed possible steps to bring down the levels of military confrontation,

disarmament and the start of negotiating process on this question between countries in the region.

Shevardnadze Comments on UN Assembly Session

PM1701151590 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS
in English No 1, 7 Jan 90 p 3

[Article by Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze: "UN Old Shoes and New Thinking"]

[Text] I have given up the tempting but impossible task of leafing through the whole political calendar of the past year. Almost every date marked a historic event. Some dates are fresh in everybody's memory, others have been overshadowed by the continual avalanche of memorable events. Let me dwell on one of them.

A Western journalist called November 15, 1989 the end of the era of international tension. Much as I dislike high-flown rhetoric and the desire to cloak facts in the garish clothes of sensationalism, I have to admit the truth of this statement.

In my view, on November 15, 1989, the United Nations Organization drew considerably closer to the goal set by its founding fathers and formulated in its Charter. The document signed that day is like a New Testament for the 20th Century, on a par with other great products of the human intellect. It's a pity humanity has proved unable to live up to it.

"The Charter grew obsolete before the ink dried on it," said one of its authors when the atom bomb was dropped on Hiroshima soon after the Charter was signed.

The UN headquarters in New York, built by the great Finnish architect Eero Saarinen more than four decades ago, has seen many futile attempts "to maintain international peace and security," the goal formulated in Article 1 of the UN Charter. All attempts ran up against the iron curtain that severed nations united on the ruins of World War II. Although the UN is generally believed to have prevented World War III, it proved unable to avert the cold war. In fact it was unable to prevent it because the alloy from which the iron curtain was forged contained too many base elements of ideological confrontation.

It is not the right time now to recall all the menacing promises and sordid accusations that were addressed to the Soviet Union from the UN rostrum. The history of past hysteria can hardly be summed up in three pages. It is worth recalling, however, that we too contributed to it with the sole of a shoe banged on our delegates' desk.

New thinking has put paid to old shoes, having realized and openly admitted to the world community that one cannot get far in such footwear, or achieve the ideals formulated in the United Nations Charter. The USSR's course with respect to the United Nations, set forth in Mikhail Gorbachev's article "Reality and Guarantees for a Secure World" (September 17, 1987) and his speech at

the 43rd Session of the UN General Assembly (December 7, 1988), were inspired by the new thinking and embodied in a policy of dialogue and cooperation between the USA and the USSR to restore to the United Nations its original mission.

On November 15, 1989, the 44th Session of the General Assembly adopted unanimously, by consensus, Resolution No. 44/21 submitted by the Soviet Union and the United States of America. The Resolution has a long title and contains a mere two pages of text. Its significance lies in the fact that it is the first resolution proposed jointly by the two powers, which had for years since the UN was established held irreconcilably opposite views on most issues. It is the first resolution in which the USSR and the USA expressed readiness to cooperate in strengthening the role and effectiveness of the UN in maintaining international peace and security. This joint step has added markedly to the UN's potential as a peacemaker.

The iron curtain has not yet been melted down as scrap metal. Some fragments are lodged firmly in the conscience of the champions of imperial power politics. They don't find the old army boots too tight as they set out to put neighbouring countries on the "right road," violate the immunity of sovereign nations' foreign missions, and trample underfoot the tender sprouts of national freedom. It is high time they changed into lighter shoes—or else we won't get far.

The 44th Session of the General Assembly expressed profound regret over the UN armed intervention in Panama. High on the agenda is humanitarian aid to Romania, and the dismantling of apartheid in South Africa—the issue discussed at the special session in December. Generally speaking, the session's decision have dealt with the world community's current concerns, including the elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons, the reduction of conventional armaments, combatting environmental dangers, and settling regional conflicts.

A wit, disappointed at the UN's inability to secure peace, called it a paper-mill producing over a billion pages of text a year. This is unfair and even wrong in the context of 1989, as the UN's output today is quite meaningful.

Comparison—Shevardnadze, UN Officials Meet

PM1901164590

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 19 January carries in its Second Edition on page 1 a TASS report on a meeting between USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and UN officials 18 January. The PRAVDA item, under the general heading "Official Announcements," has been compared with the Moscow TASS English version published in the 19 January Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 16, under the headline "Shevardnadze, UN Heads Meet," revealing the following variations:

Column one, seventh full paragraph, sentence one of the PRAVDA item begins: Minister Eduard Shevardnadze 18 January conferred with the... (deleting dateline, retranslating)

Column two, paragraph two, sentence two of the PRAVDA item reads: ...community. Federico Mayor particularly singled out UNESCO's integrative role in the modern world. (adding "particularly" and omitting final paragraph)

Team of Experts Studying OECD Activities

*AU1801123990 Paris AFP in English 1154 GMT
18 Jan 90*

[Text] Paris, Jan 18 (AFP)—A delegation of high-level Soviet experts has been visiting the headquarters of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) here since Monday to learn about its role and activities, reliable sources said Thursday.

A Soviet delegation made an "exploratory visit" in June.

OECD Secretary General Jean-Claude Paye did not rule out in November the idea that some countries from Eastern Europe could eventually become full members of the organisation.

The sources here said that the delegation was due also to exchange views with OECD officials on the economic situation and outlook in the Soviet Union.

The delegation was expected also to continue discussions on statistical methods of calculating national wealth.

Different sources said that the Soviet Union was believed to want to drop its own system of national calculations in favour of the OECD model based on gross national product so as better to integrate into world trade.

The delegation of 10 experts was headed by Vice-Foreign Minister Ernest Obminsky.

New Bank for Eastern Europe Discussed in Paris

*PM1901160090 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
15 Jan 90 Moscow Evening Edition p 1*

[Report by own correspondent Yu. Kovalenko: "New Bank for Eastern Europe"]

[Text] Paris—Delegations from 34 countries have assembled in Paris to examine questions connected with the creation of a European Bank for Reconstruction and Development for Eastern Europe. At the meeting, which is to take place 15-16 January under the chairmanship of Jacques Attali, special adviser to the French president, there are representatives from the 12 EEC states, the 6 members of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), 8 socialist countries, including the Soviet Union, and the United States, Canada, Japan, and a number of other countries, as well as the EC Commission and the European Investment Bank.

People in many capitals attach great significance to the formation of this bank, because, as LE MONDE notes, it is a question of founding a new type of institution, perhaps the first institution of the "common European home." The proposal to create a European Bank for Reconstruction and Development was put forward in November 1989 by France, which submitted it for consideration by its EEC partners, who approved this initiative at the summit meeting last December in Strasbourg. After that, there were two conferences of experts within the EEC framework, at which the fundamentals of the plan for the new bank were drawn up. The plan will serve as a basis for discussion at the present Paris meeting. At the same time people here note that it is not final, and amendments could be made by both Western and socialist countries.

Nonetheless, it is thought in Paris that the discussion should not be dragged out, and a decision should be taken in the very near future on the main aspects of the new bank's activity. It is proposed that the bank will begin to function in early 1991.

The bank's capital, according to preliminary estimates, will be 10 billion ECUs (the ECU is an accounting unit adopted in the EEC, equal to approximately 7 French francs), 30% of which will be allocated to financing various projects in the 1st year that the bank is open. However, there is no unity as yet with regard to all these figures even among the EEC countries.

The bank's main purpose, it is stressed in Western capitals, must be to grant assistance to East European states in the implementation of structural reforms which will enable them to make the transition from a planned economy to a market economy. But what will be the reaction of these states to the tasks thus formulated, LE MONDE asks. The Hungarian and Polish leaders, the newspaper writes, are talking about a transition to a market economy, but the Soviet leaders prefer to put the emphasis on actively involving their country in international economic ties. This is supposed to be the purpose of the recently signed agreement between the Soviet Union and the European Communities on trade and commercial and economic cooperation. It is anticipated that the most heated debates at the Paris conference will arise over questions of the bank's objectives.

The EEC believes that the socialist states should themselves participate in the new bank, and intends to propose that they invest 15% of the total capital (the EEC will control 52% to 53%). By all appearances, the share of each of the world's seven biggest countries, including the Soviet Union, will be 8.5%.

The West seeks to ensure that the new institution is as free as possible of bureaucratic fetters and can adopt decisions rapidly and without procrastination. Therefore some countries propose that the experience and personnel of the European Investment Bank, which operates within the EEC framework, be utilized, and that the

formulation of norms for the granting of credit be based on the rules established at the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

As for the location of the new bank, many states are ready to be its hosts, and Denmark and Austria have already officially come forward as candidates.

Japanese Ties, Vienna Military Seminar Discussed

LD2101180690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1230 GMT 21 Jan 90

["International Observers Roundtable" program hosted by Boris Andrianov, and Nikolay Agayants and Gennadiy Vedenyapin, foreign political commentators]

[Excerpts] [Andrianov] Hello, comrades. We now begin our traditional meeting of "International Observers at the Roundtable," chaired by Boris Andrianov. And beside me are my colleagues Nikolay Agayants and Gennadiy Vedenyapin, foreign political commentators for All-Union Radio.

Our country is at present experiencing complicated times. Problems, as they say, are mounting up over our heads. And for this reason our leaders really do have more than enough problems and, of course, so does Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev himself. But nevertheless, he found time to meet Senator Abe, who headed a delegation from Japan's ruling Liberal Democratic Party.

[Agayants] By the way, the world's press does not shirk from saying this either. In general, it evaluated fairly objectively the nature of the meeting which took place last Monday.

[Vedenyapin] And there was also high-level contact between the ruling parties of the two neighboring countries. I will note that 28 states took part in WWII, of which 26 have settled its results, but unfortunately Japan and we have not been able to do this so far.

[Andrianov] Well here, as the poet said: Neither over nor underestimate. But you know this meeting has given good hope to the people of both countries. However, let's think. Who benefits from Soviet-Japanese relations lagging behind those stormy changes which are taking place throughout the world? Well, no one.

[Vedenyapin] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev also noticed that Soviet-Japanese relations are lagging behind the stormy changes in the world, particularly in Europe. He indicated that, nevertheless, something in our relations is changing, and by no means for the worse. In his opinion, the arrival of such an authoritative delegation, its intentions and those talks which it held in Moscow, this is yet one more summit which we are climbing together, and from which everything that lies before us will obviously be more visible.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev went on to say that the policy for the decade ahead is being formed. And we, he

stressed, want Japan to participate in this with the same dynamism it employs in the economic sphere. The whole world would gain by this. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev referred to the very rich experience of European development, where the uselessness and catastrophic nature of using methods of force has been recognized, and now a specific search for new forms of interstate relations in a huge area, from the Atlantic to the Urals, is already going on.

[Aganyets] Well, of course, Gennadiy Aleksandrovich, Asia has its own features, but the principle direction is still the same, because it is a matter of creating a new way—of course, maybe over a decade—which will allow any specific problems to be solved peacefully. It is no secret that there exist up until the present day territorial problems between our two countries. It is doubtful that today there is an absolutely concrete prescription for solving them. Nevertheless, if you remember, during the recent visit to Tokyo by Politburo member Comrade Yakovlev the idea was expressed and proposed to find some third way, a way which will allow this problem to be solved through a reasonable political and diplomatic initiative. I think that a way-out of this complicated situation can be found.

[Andrianov] That's right, because there is the hope that at last a peace treaty between the two countries will be concluded during the next year's visit by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to Japan. There is no doubt that the conclusion of such a treaty and the stabilization of interstate relations would be an important basis for the development of bilateral links. It is also understandable that to develop Japanese-Soviet relations in the future, economic exchange must be broadened. But of course, in addition to political logic, economic logic is necessary to achieve this. [passage omitted]

[Andrianov] The events with which we began our conversation at the Roundtable today confirms yet again that international dialogue is growing in scope and gaining in strength. It is hard to overestimate the significance of this for the destiny of our world.

[Vedenyapin] Something else in the context of the development of international dialogue is the seminar on military doctrines which opened this past week in Vienna, the Austrian capital. It is justifiably described as a meeting without precedent, a meeting such as there has never been before in history. And indeed, it is the first time in the history of the disarmament process that the representatives of the top military echelons of 33 European countries, plus the United States and Canada have met—the states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The delegations are led by the chiefs of general staffs or military leaders equivalent in rank. They are gathered around the same table to discuss the military-political and military-technological aspect of the doctrines and concepts, including issues relating to cooperation and the use not only of conventional forces, but also of nuclear weapons and naval

forces; to military action and military training; and even to military budget allocations.

[Agayants] Clearly it should be understood immediately that, regarding specific results, there is absolutely no expectation that the seminar will draw up any accords or agreements. It is by virtue of its uniqueness that the Vienna seminar can, of course, and should create a favorable background for the entire process of disarmament negotiations. It is expected to provide a fresh impetus for the Vienna talks on conventional weapons on the continent and for the talks on confidence and security-building measures in Europe.

[Andrianov] I suggest that great interest was generated by Army General Moiseyev, first deputy defense minister, chief of the General Staff of our Armed Forces, and leader of the Soviet delegation in his speech to the seminar. Although the speech itself was fairly laconic—it lasted a mere 25 minutes—the content of it undoubtedly merited the closest of attention, because he was setting out the main points in the military doctrine of one of the strongest states in terms of military might.

[Agayants] I should remind you that, guided by the new political thinking, in 1987 our country devised and implemented a new defensive military doctrine. This doctrine is a system of officially accepted fundamental views on how to avert war, on military organizational development, on how to prepare the country's defenses and its armed forces to repulse aggression, and also on the ways and means of waging an armed struggle to defend our homeland. It should also be added that, from the point of view of content, this doctrine corresponds closely to the military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact member states. Operating as it does in the capacity of the fundamental law of the Soviet state in the sphere of defense, our doctrine is aimed not at preparing for war, but at averting it and at consolidating international security. [passage omitted]

[Andrianov] It is well-known that both sides—the Soviet Union and the United States, the Warsaw Pact and NATO—dismiss out of hand any suggestion that the threat of war could emanate from them. However, in spite of this, official spokesmen for the United States and NATO periodically declare that they regard our country as their military opponent, and that the only way of dealing with it is from a position of strength. Moreover, it is not just verbal declarations that are in vogue; there are specific deeds and specific actions undertaken to build up military might even further. The strategy of nuclear deterrence and flexible response, as set out at the Vienna conference by General Powell, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the U.S. Armed Forces, allows for the first use of nuclear weapons. Incidentally, to date, neither the United States nor its NATO allies have undertaken not to initiate military actions generally.

[Agayants] One cannot help recalling here the speech made by U.S. Defense Secretary Cheney last September at the Hudson Institute. I will remind you that he said

then that there was no reason for the United States and its NATO allies to change the existing strategy, which is fundamentally based on military might.

[Vedenyapin] Incidentally, the fact that the Pentagon is continuing with the large-scale deployment of long-range cruise missiles, and the commissioning of new submarines armed with Trident-2 missiles falls within the context of this speech. As you know, trials are under way of the B-2 heavy bomber. Equipped with Stealth technology, this aircraft is called invisible. Essentially the U.S. and NATO armed forces are continuing to prepare for both nuclear and conventional war. It is hard at present to draw any other conclusion. Because as long as the idea of nuclear deterrence continues to surface in the organization and training of NATO's armed forces, and as long as the possibility of the use of nuclear weapons is even entertained, then, of course, we will have to maintain our armed forces in a state of readiness to fulfill their defensive tasks, no matter how events might unfold.

[Andrianov] Yes, this was quite clearly stated by the spokesman for our General Staff in his speech. But he said something else too. Why, now, in the new conditions, should the United States and the Soviet Union, NATO and the Warsaw Pact undertake on a joint and reciprocal basis not to be first to use nuclear weapons? We are even prepared for an undertaking not to initiate war, even with the use of conventional weapons. Incidentally, judging by the words of the self-same General Powell, who as it happens viewed positively the steps taken by our country and the other Warsaw Pact states to reduce our troops unilaterally, the East and West have already reached a joint conclusion on the need to put an end to the era of confrontation.

[Agayants] Particularly because, Boris Vasilyevich, the Warsaw Pact and NATO's Brussels headquarters have essentially come to the conclusion that it is high time the opposing alliances were restructured. To restructure them so that they might gradually evolve from military-political alliances into politico-military alliances. Judging by the December communique from the Brussels headquarters, this work has already been started there.

[Vedenyapin] Well, then, there are grounds for supposing—and this is suggested by the very fact that the seminar has been held in Vienna—that the favorable development of relations in the military sphere will continue and, moreover, continue on the basis of even more openness and reciprocity. The corresponding structural restructuring of the two alliances to give them more of a political nature will, as it happens, allow the creation of the prerequisites essential for a significant reduction in the military potential of the two groups of armed forces that confront one another across the continent.

[Agayants] Incidentally, there is currently no way of strengthening peace other than by reaching accord on a sharp reduction in the level of military confrontation. As we all know, it is toward this that the efforts of the participants in the Vienna talks on conventional weapons are currently directed. In this sense, the military doctrines seminar is quite simply a necessary adjunct to these talks. It could prove to be a substantial military-political step toward strengthening confidence that could facilitate the removal of the accumulated suspicion on both sides and the achievement of better understanding of one another's intentions. This seminar should create the preconditions to ensure that the doctrines of the military-political alliance develop along exclusively defensive lines. [passage omitted]

United States & Canada**U.S., UK Reports on Baku Called 'Propaganda'***LD2101085890 Moscow TASS in English 0842 GMT
21 Jan 90*

[Text] Moscow January 21 TASS—Today's SOVET-SKAYA ROSSIYA newspaper carries a commentary on broadcasts by the Liberty Radio station. The newspaper says that the radio station made it a rule to begin its broadcasts with pathetic harangues that it works in the interests of exchanging information and mutual understanding between nations.

What is the real purpose of reports aired by the station from the early morning on Saturday?

The purpose is evident: To misinform Soviet people, to fan up nationalistic passions, to instigate people and to whip up a hysterical propaganda campaign concerning the events in Baku.

The selection of interviews from local residents which are taken only from gunmen and commanders of the so-called defence committees, and comments made by the station's staff members show that the editorial staff set for itself only one purpose: To put into doubt the decision on declaring the state of emergency.

The station seeks to show that there were no grounds for dispatching troops to Baku. "Unbiased" reports try to create an impression that there were no pogroms and that there was no need to protect anybody in the city against violence. That there was no violence at all in the city.

According to the station, Russian troops are to blame for violence: All of a sudden they stormed into the city, crushing and razing to the ground everything in their way. They mercilessly spilled the blood of innocent Baku residents.

It is useless to appeal to the conscience of the Liberty station and to the professional ethics of its journalists. But the station is operating not on its own. Its leaders constantly underline that they have been obeying orders for long not from the CIA but from the U.S. Congress.

Washington knows pretty well how the situation was developing in Azerbaijan and Armenia. It also knows well enough how much effort the Soviet leadership exerted to defuse tension and to find political ways for settling the problem.

Incidentally, this is corroborated by a statement by the White House press secretary who said the other day that the United States understands the need to restore law and order, but it hopes that Soviet authorities would possibly use minimum force to restore law and order.

He went on to say that the U.S. recognizes the right of any state to ensure security of its citizens. The U.S. Administration assumes that this is the main purpose in this particular case.

Small doubt, the Liberty station as well as those who counsel it on what should be broadcast are well aware who began bloodshed and what tragic effect this chain reaction could have had.

Nevertheless, they are doing their utmost to aggravate the situation even more, to plunge into chaos not only Transcaucasia but to bring criticism against Moscow.

In the recent past many express their positive attitude to changes in the Soviet Union, which, as most Western politicians stress, serve the interests of international stability.

In any case, we evidently observe the return to double standards. When British television filmed an interview with a terrorist of the Irish Republican Army some time ago, the British Government banned the broadcast.

On the other hand, the BBC Russian service matter-of-factly broadcasts interviews primarily with Azerbaijani terrorists.

U.S. Dilemma on Calls for E. Europe Aid Viewed*PM1901114390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 Jan 90 Second Edition p 7*

[Vitaliy Gan dispatch under the "Correspondents Comment" rubric: "Where Are We to Get the Money? U.S. Aid for the Countries of Eastern Europe: Who Is 'For' and Who Is 'Against'"]

[Text] Washington, 17 Jan—The U.S. Administration's delight at the changes in Eastern Europe may quite easily give way to despondency. The time for pompous declarations of support is over and real financial and economic aid is on the agenda.

This year is the year of midterm elections in the United States. It is reckoned that their outcome may have a fundamental effect on the entire U.S. political scene in the nineties, determining and enshrining the alignment of forces in the supreme U.S. legislative organ.

G. Bush's administration is now completing its work on the U.S. draft federal budget for fiscal 1991, which will be submitted to the Congress for consideration 29 April. The administration and the legislators decided long ago that a budget deficit in excess of \$100 billion leaves no room for financing new programs for the simple reason of lack of money.

This is where the rapidly changing situation in East European states comes into the domestic political game. The day before the U.S. Congress resumed work, immigrants from this region—quite rowdy voters—mounted a campaign for their former native countries to be given U.S. aid. That is why, on the one hand, legislators must react, while, on the other, their hands are tied, as are those of the White House, which is campaigning for Republicans' election.

It must be said that aid to foreign states has been extremely unpopular for many years now with Americans, who, despite the "higher considerations of national security," consider it quite unwarranted to support foreign clients at the expense of acute internal needs. At present approximately \$14 billion escapes from the federal treasury every year. Moreover a number of countries have in effect become parasites with legislative recognition who "must not receive less than their due." Year in year out Israel, for instance, obtains U.S. aid totaling \$3 billion.

Studies show that voters want any "new resources" to be spent at home rather than abroad. The Congress cannot deny them this. At the same time material support for East European governments who are experiencing a serious financial and economic crisis is demanded from the administration and legislators. Where, one wonders, is the money to come from?

Obviously, after consultations with the White House R. Dole, leader of the Republican minority in the Senate, assumed the rather unenviable role of "bearer" of bad tidings. Speaking today at a news conference, he said that if it seems impossible to increase the "federal aid package," the leading recipients "must have their shares reduced" by approximately 5 percent.

The reaction to these statements was not long in coming. The U.S. Jewish lobby—the custodian and guardian of Washington's confidant in the Near East—pounced on Dole and the White House at the same time.

The current emotional outbursts at all levels of the U.S. Government were assessed unequivocally—at the coming Congress session the White House will have to engage in all-around defense on all domestic and foreign policy questions.

Quayle Remarks on Military Spending Analyzed
LD2101112390 Moscow in English to North America
0000 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Valentin Zorin commentary]

[Text] Recent statements made by the vice president, Dan Quayle, give rise to quite a few questions. In his speech in Park City, Utah state, on 13 January he declared that the current easing of international tension would hardly bring about cuts in the American spending on military purposes, nor would the money that could be released this way be used for financing economic programs. That remark was not accidental. Quayle wrote in the newspaper WASHINGTON POST at the end of last year that what he termed as dividends of peace that might come through the reduction in the military spendings would not be attained soon. He described a radical reduction in the defense spending as unreasonable and wrong.

That statement actually doesn't tally with the recent instruction of the American defense secretary, Richard

Cheney, to prepare a plan providing for the reduction of the arms bill by \$180,000 million in the next 5 years. But this is hardly my headache, for why should I worry about the lack of unanimity on the issue within the administration?

The stand taken by the vice president argues with logic. Indeed Quayle doesn't deny that serious changes for the better have taken place in the world—that international tension has eased and the military danger lessened. It is believed universally that the recent top-level meeting off Malta has marked the beginning of a new stage in Soviet-American relations and has led to the growth of trust between the two countries. The meeting is clearing the road for the attainment of important arms reduction agreements already this year. But if it is so, how can one justify America's desire to go ahead with the arms race on the scale of the previous year? Why can't the new atmosphere on the international scene have its bearing on the scale of American military programs and the size of the American arms bill?

If we look at this question from the economic point of view, it becomes evident that the need to change priorities has long been imminent. Enormous sums needed for the development of heaps of weapons prevent the country from coping with the budget deficit and from increasing allocations for social and ecological programs that the Americans are so much concerned about.

When I compare Quayle's statements, writes Valentin Zorin, with the results of public opinion polls, I arrive at the conclusion that he speaks not on behalf of the majority of the Americans. Even the American business world, which showed quite an intense interest in the war industry, has now become aware of the new trend. According to the results of the poll carried out by the FORTUNE magazine, 93 percent of the heads of leading American companies favor an early reduction in the Pentagon's budget. If we proceed from these figures it turns out that only 7% of the representatives of big business favor the maintenance of the American military expenditures at the present level, what the vice president advocates. The percentage of ordinary Americans is evidently much smaller.

U.S. Plans Cruise Missile Test Over Canada

LD2201091790 Moscow TASS in English 0749 GMT
22 Jan 90

[Text] Ottawa January 22 TASS—By TASS correspondent Valentin Vasilets:

American cruise missile tests over Canadian territory will resume this week, Canada's Defence Ministry announced on Sunday.

An about six metre long missile can take a conventional or nuclear warhead to a distance of 2.5 thousand kilometres, following the computer course that can take account of the relief.

A B-52 bomber will take off from American territory during tests, planned to be held on Tuesday, and launch a Cruise missile over the Arctic Beaufort Sea.

The missile will fly a winding route over the valley of the Mackenzie River, over northern areas of British Columbia and Alberta and end its flight at the Primrose test range on the frontier between Alberta and Saskatchewan. The missile will be accompanied by a tracking plane that could stop tests in case of need. The mission of Canadian and American fighter planes will be to discover the Cruise missile and try to intercept it.

Such tests give inestimable experience to pilots, enabling them to perfect tactics in order to oppose a Cruise missile attack on the North American continent, the ministry said.

Northeast Asia

Gorbachev-Abe 15 Jan Talks Described

OW2001093790 *Moscow in Japanese to Japan*
1200 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Text] On 15 January at the CPSU Central Committee, the Soviet leader, General Secretary Gorbachev, held talks with former Japanese Foreign Minister Shintaro Abe, who is visiting the Soviet Union as the head of a delegation from Japan's Liberal-Democratic Party [LDP].

During the talks, both leaders noted the emergence of a new, important element in Soviet-Japanese relations shown by the current high-level contacts between the ruling parties of the Soviet Union and Japan. At the same time, they pointed out that the current talks were realized despite the fact that General Secretary Gorbachev was extremely busy with domestic issues at this critical time, which is a tough turning point for perestroika. This proves that Japan occupies an important position in Soviet international policy.

During the talks, while calling attention to Soviet-Japanese relations, which are lagging behind the rapid changes in the world, notably in Europe, General Secretary Gorbachev said that Soviet-Japanese ties are changing for the better. He added: The current visit by an authoritative delegation, their stated intentions, and negotiations held in Moscow can be looked at as a high point we are jointly trying to reach. From this point we can clearly see what awaits us in the future. At present, policies for dozens of years are in the making. We hope Japan will participate in this process with the dynamism which it has demonstrated in the field of economics. The world will be a wonderful place as a result of Japan's participation. Looking back on the very rich experiences in the development of Europe in recent years, both the dim prospects and the tragic nature of the exercise of power policies in Europe should be borne in mind. A new form of relations among nations is being constructively explored from the Pacific to the Urals.

Asia is unique, but Gorbachev said he believes that the principled orientation of the establishment of a new environment in which concrete problems can be solved by peaceful means will remain unchanged for dozens of years. The important thing is to accept reality and understand how new environments have been formed in history, rather than to apply force and throw away developments. By such acceptance, difficult problems will become a natural part of global changes, a common situation. These are the beliefs of General Secretary Gorbachev.

Soviet-Japanese ties were discussed in the context of improving the situation in Asia and East-West relations. Former Foreign Minister Abe stressed that these processes are of significance to the success of Soviet perestroika, which he and the Japanese people sincerely wish for.

General Secretary Gorbachev affirmed that the Soviet Union is faithful to the concept spelled out in his speeches at Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk. The process for the realization of this concept has already had results in ties between the Soviet Union and other nations in the Asia-Pacific region.

General Secretary Gorbachev said that the Soviet Union will continue to promote this policy in the future. He pointed out that it would be unthinkable for this policy to harm Japan and that, from the beginning, the policy was conceived with the belief that Japan would not ignore the interests of the Soviet Union.

The talks were attended by delegation members from Japan and the Soviet Union. On the Japanese side, LDP parliamentarians Soichiro Ito, Obuchi Keizo, Mutsuku Kato, Nobuyuki Hamatsu, Toshio Yamaguchi, Yoshiko Otaka, and Hiroshi Oki attended the talks. From the Soviet side, Yakovlev, (Palin), Sergeyev, Zagladin, Brutents, and other members attended the talks.

After the talks, General Secretary Gorbachev and Abe held face-to-face talks. Former Foreign Minister Abe presented an 8-point program for examination. The program calls for the promotion of relations in the fields of economics, science and technology, personnel exchanges, training of specialists, holding of exhibitions, and studies between the two countries. In response, General Secretary Gorbachev said that the program would draw a positive response and that the Soviet side would certainly make responsive proposals. The program will be helpful to redressing the abnormal state of Soviet-Japanese relations at a time when the two neighboring giants lag behind the call of the times in developing their relations.

Discussing his planned visit to Japan, General Secretary Gorbachev said he hopes there will be no obstructions to his visit. In response, former Foreign Minister Abe said that wide-ranging activities would be carried out to expand Soviet-Japanese relations prior to General Secretary Gorbachev's visit. The former Japanese foreign

minister also said that Japan wants to promote cooperation with the Soviet Union in an appropriate form while maintaining allied relations with the United States.

Former Foreign Minister Abe handed Prime Minister Kaifu's personal letter to General Secretary Gorbachev. General Secretary Gorbachev promised to answer the letter and asked former Foreign Minister Abe to convey his regards to Prime Minister Kaifu. Proposals on regular contacts between the LDP and the CPSU were positively accepted.

Japan on Soviet Presence at Cam Ranh Bay

*LD1901215490 Moscow TASS in English 2139 GMT
19 Jan 90*

[Text] Tokyo January 19 TASS—Japan welcomes the Soviet decision to reduce its presence in the Cam Ranh port, which has been agreed with the Vietnamese side. Japanese Foreign Ministry spokesman Taizo Watanabe told foreign correspondents at a news conference.

He noted that Japan welcomes this Soviet step from the point of view of peace and stability in Southeast Asia. At the same time he mentioned the need to watch the actual pace and scale of this reduction.

Yeltsin Continues Visit to Japan, Holds Talks

Meets Kaifu, Nakayama

*LD1901210290 Moscow TASS in English 2032 GMT
19 Jan 90*

[Text] Tokyo January 19 TASS—Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu received visiting member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of USSR Supreme Soviet committee Boris Yeltsin here today.

The prime minister noted that Japan, same as other countries, is closely watching the progress of Soviet perestroika, and wished it success. He called for stable and well-balanced Soviet-Japanese relations.

During the meeting the sides noted that the level of Soviet-Japanese relations is not high enough and that it does not correspond to their status of large world powers, which are neighbours. They pointed to the need to find a way to make all spheres of bilateral relations open.

In this connection, Yeltsin stressed that it's not just the matter of relations' activation, but a breakthrough in economic, scientific and technical ties, as well as Soviet personnel training in Japan.

Laws to delimit functions of the centre and Soviet republics and provide independence for republics and enterprises can contribute to that, Yeltsin said. He suggested that the Russian Federation and Japan conclude an agreement in the sphere of economy, science, technology and culture after these laws have been

adopted by the upcoming session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in February-March, 1990.

As the Japanese side touched upon the so-called territorial problem, Yeltsin stressed that it cannot be solved straight ahead, pointed to Soviet and Japanese public opinion and proposed a stage- by-stage solution of the problem.

Today Yeltsin also met Japanese Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama. Both meetings were attended by USSR People's Deputy V. Yaroshenko.

Yeltsin-Kaifu Talks Described

*OW 2101170690 Moscow in Japanese to Japan
1200 GMT 20 Jan 90*

[Text] Japanese Prime Minister Kaifu met with Mr Yeltsin, a member of the Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the Supreme Soviet Construction and Construction Materials Industry Commission, on 19 January. At the meeting, Prime Minister Kaifu pointed out that, like other nations, Japan is paying close attention to the progress of perestroika and wishes it success, and expressed hopes for building stable and balanced relations with the Soviet Union. Pointing out that the level of Japanese-Soviet relations remains insufficient and is not commensurate with the countries' status as neighboring giants in the world, Prime Minister Kaifu and Mr Yeltsin stressed the need for discovering ways to open the door of their bilateral relations in various fields.

In this connection, Mr Yeltsin made the following remarks: Japan and the Soviet Union are presently engaged in discussions with the aim of not simply reactivating their relations, but discovering ways to break the deadlock in the areas of the economy and science and technology between the two countries to provide Soviet people with opportunities to study in Japan. I think that various efforts for the functional sharing between the central government and republic governments, the guarantee of republics' autonomy and the guarantee of enterprises' independence in the Soviet Union are creating desirable potentials. I think that it would be good if Japan and the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] conclude an agreement on the economy, science, technology, and culture after laws concerned with the above matters are adopted at a Supreme Soviet session scheduled to be held from February to March this year.

Referring to the northern territories issue the Japanese have raised, Mr Yeltsin stressed that the issue cannot be resolved at a stroke and indicated the view that the two countries should resolve the issue step by step, watching present public opinion in the Soviet Union and Japan.

On 19 January, Mr Yeltsin also met with Japanese Foreign Minister Nakayama. Congress of People's Deputies member (Yarosenko) accompanied Mr Yeltsin at these meetings.

Meets Political Party Leaders

LD2001214190 Moscow TASS in English 1948 GMT
20 Jan 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Solntsev]

[Text] Tokyo January 20 TASS—Boris Yeltsin, member of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and chairman of the parliamentary committee for construction and architecture, on Saturday [20 January] continued a series of meetings with a number of Japanese political figures.

During his meeting with Takako Doi, head of the central executive committee of the Japan Socialist Party, much attention was devoted in particular to problems of reducing tension and ensuring security in the Asia-Pacific region.

The leader of the Japanese socialists set out her party's proposals aimed at ridding this vast region of the world of nuclear weapons and at lowering the level of military confrontation in the region.

Yeltsin, for his part, voiced the opinion that Japan could play an important role in the implementation of the Soviet initiatives aimed at banning underground tests of nuclear weapons.

He also suggested setting up an economic cooperation mechanism with the participation of the Soviet Union, the United States, Japan and a number of other Asian countries.

Shintaro Abe, a prominent figure of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) of Japan and former foreign minister, praised the results of his recent visit to the Soviet Union.

He called for the development of relations with the Soviet Union on the basis of the "growing balance" concept and recalled a programme which he suggested during his meeting with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow.

The eight-point programme envisages in particular expansion of economic, scientific and technical contacts, people-to-people exchanges, and the training of specialists.

Yeltsin pointed out the need to ensure a breakthrough in bilateral relations and suggested that one thousand young Soviet specialists undergo training in Japan at a time.

On Saturday Yeltsin also had meetings with Koshiro Ishida, leader of the Komeito party, Eiichi Nagasue, leader of the Democratic Socialist Party, Satsuki Edoi, the leader of the Union of Social Democrats, and Akira Yamagishi, president of the Japanese Confederation of Trade Unions.

Meets JSP's Doi

OW2001055790 Tokyo KYODO in English 0518 GMT
20 Jan 90

[Text] Tokyo, Jan. 20 (KYODO)—Boris Yeltsin, a deputy of the Supreme Soviet, called on the Soviet Union and the United States on Saturday [20 January] to promote disarmament and relaxation of tensions in Asia and the Pacific.

Yeltsin, who arrived in Japan on Monday for talks with top Japanese Government officials, as well as those from political parties and the business community, made the call in an meeting with Takako Doi, chairwoman of the Japan Socialist Party [JSP].

The Soviet reform advocate said Moscow and Washington should make every effort to reach agreement on the creation of demilitarized zones in the Asia-Pacific region, as well as the withdrawal of warships.

Yeltsin said such an accord would create a favorable climate for improved Soviet-Japan relations.

He said Soviet-Japan economic ties are underdeveloped, adding that both countries should promote bilateral relations as soon as possible.

Referring to nationalism, Yeltsin said Moscow should allow the Soviet republics to resolve their own national problems.

"The Soviet leadership should accelerate perestroika (reform) with bolder moves this year. Otherwise, a revolution will break out on the grassroots level and lead to chaos in the country," Yeltsin warned.

He said it is imperative that the Politburo and the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party be reorganized. Representatives of the Supreme Soviet should also be elected from the rank-and-file of Soviet organizations to pave the way for pluralism in the Soviet politics, he said.

Yeltsin will leave for home next Wednesday.

Following a meeting with Doi, Yeltsin met Komeito Chairman Koshiro Ishida, Eiichi Nagasue, chairman of the Democratic Socialist Party, and Satsuki Eda, chairman of the United Social Democratic Party.

Yeltsin told Ishida that a proposal on the northern territories issue made by him Tuesday should be a springboard for discussion between the Soviet Union and Japan.

The Soviet politician made the step-by-step proposal to resolve the dispute over Kunashiri, Etorofu, Habomai and Shikotan islands off eastern Hokkaido, which have been held by the Soviet Union since the end of World War II.

Japan has claimed the islands as its inherent territory.

The proposal centered on promoting joint business ventures and demilitarization of the islands over the next two decades to pave the way for their possible return to Japan.

Yeltsin said the issue would not be resolved instantly, adding that Japan should arouse Soviet public awareness of the territorial issue, which has not been publicly recognized by the Soviets.

Yeltsin told Nagasue that he has been concerned with Japan's increasing defense budget despite a relaxation of tensions in the world.

He said it is not important to consider whether the Soviet Union has superior military power but whether Japan is increasing or decreasing its defense spending.

'Informal' Mongolian Democratic Union Founded

PM2201110790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
19 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Dispatch by own correspondent A. Nabatchikov: "Mongolia: Accelerating Renewal Process"]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar—The first informal organization in Ulaanbaatar, calling itself the Mongolian Democratic Union, announced its birth only a month ago. But already, according to the figures of its founders, it has mustered over 60,000 supporters. Branches have been created at many enterprises and in several of the country's cities and provinces. In galvanizing its activity the informal movement in the republic has become a most extraordinary phenomenon.

This was demonstrated clearly by the following fact: Thousands of inhabitants of the capital and envoys from other regions of the country took part in the sanctioned meeting organized recently by the Mongolian Democratic Union, in contrast to the two previous meetings, which gathered several hundred people each. The following detail is also notable: The slogans and calls of those taking part in the meeting had become more assertive. They included the following: "If we struggle today we shall win tomorrow," "Restrict the party's unrestricted rights," "For a 5-day working week," "For a rule-of-law state," "Mongolians! Let's unite on a national basis."

These slogans, like the speeches of representatives of the Mongolian Democratic Union, make it possible to understand better the social coloring and also the aims of their activity within the framework of this new movement. Its ideological and theoretical platform mainly comes down to criticizing the unwieldy economic structures, conservatism, and excessive administration in management and the leadership's isolation from people's real needs and to dissatisfaction with the slow pace of perestroika and renewal of the party and state apparatus.

At the recent meeting, representatives of the union for the first time expressed in sharp and open form distrust

in several party and state leaders personally, describing them as "promotions" of Y. Tsedenbal continuing to lead the country by his outdated methods. Moreover, a number of speeches directly accused them of seeking to protect the former Mongolian leader from administrative and party responsibility for corruption, the abuse of power, and voluntarism. With regard to Tsedenbal's further fate, those assembled were virtually unanimous: He should be handed over to be tried by the people with the utmost severity.

Questions of why the Mongolian press, and in particular the newspaper UNEN, is keeping quiet about the activity of the Mongolian Democratic Union, and why there is no government reaction to the petition presented previously setting forth a number of urgent measures and proposals to transform society were also raised keenly. The meeting organized a collection of voluntary donations for the organization's coffers and also a collection of signatures in support of its activity. Those assembled were familiarized with the Mongolian Democratic Union's draft program whose preamble criticizes the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, in particular for "the monopolization of all power."

The Mongolian democratic union is an autonomous public formation, although it has no official recognition of its status. The point is that there is no special law in the country right now regulating the status of such organizations, since the organizations themselves did not exist. That is the reason why the Mongolian Democratic Union leaders were refused permission to register their organization in the republic's People's Great Hural. At the same time it was stated there that the Mongolian Constitution does not rule out the creation of such public formations without any registration, but on condition that they act within the framework of the legislation now in operation.

Renewed Leadership Demanded

LD2101201890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1900 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Text] In Ulaanbaatar, at the initiative of the Mongolian Democratic Union, the MDU, a big meeting has taken place. It was convened despite an order by the city authorities temporarily banning such events. At the meeting, apart from the usual slogans of the MDU calling for radical changes in society, there was this one: Our road is effective dialogue.

Those speaking stressed that perestroika in the country should start primarily from above, with renewal in the leadership, and that the MDU is fighting not against the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, but against those who are hampering positive changes in People's Mongolia.

DPRK Calls for Halt to 'Team Spirit' Exercise

*SK2001032290 Moscow International Service
in Korean 1100 GMT 15 Jan 90*

[From "Asian News" from the program "Focus on Asia"]

[Text] Gen Choe Ui-ung, senior member of the DPRK side's delegation to the Military Armistice Commission [MAC], called on the United States and South Korea to give up the plan for conducting the Team Spirit-90.

In a letter sent to the (?spokesman) for the U.S. side to the MAC, he noted that there was no way of construing the conducting of such a military exercise other than that it runs counter to the global trends moving toward detente and peace and to the talks expected to be held between the North and South.

ROK Minister Says U.S. Troops Will Stay

*SK1901232390 Moscow International Service
in Korean 1100 GMT 12 Jan 90*

[From "Asian News" from the program "Focus on Asia"]

[Text] South Korea's Defense Minister Yi Sang-hun stated in Seoul that the United States was not yet expected to withdraw U.S. troops stationed in South Korea. He also said that he was not ruling out the possibility of reducing the 43,000 U.S. troops stationed in the southern part of Korea.

The defense minister noted that the South Korean Government is now looking at ways of making up for the partial withdrawal of U.S. troops in case it takes place in the early nineties.

ROK, CSSR To Discuss Diplomatic Ties

*SK2001051690 Moscow International Service
in Korean 1100 GMT 15 Jan 90*

[From the "Asian News" feature in the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] According to an announcement by the ROK Foreign Ministry, an ROK diplomatic mission has left for Prague at the invitation of the Czechoslovak Government. The mission is expected to hold talks in the capital of Czechoslovakia to discuss the issue of establishing diplomatic relations between the two countries.

In 1989, the ROK established diplomatic relations with three East European countries such as Hungary, Poland, and Yugoslavia.

YONHAP News Agency, quoting the Foreign Ministry's official announcement, reported that the ROK plans to establish official diplomatic relations with another three East European countries such as GDR, Bulgaria, and Romania before the end of this year.

Southeast Asia & Pacific**Further Reportage on UN Paris Meeting on Cambodia****Rogachev, Cambodian Envoy Meet**

*LD1901220490 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1307 GMT 19 Jan 90*

[Text] Moscow, 19 Jan (TASS)—Igor Rogachev, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, today received Bo Rasi, special representative of the government of Cambodia, and had a friendly conversation with her. During the course of an exchange of opinions on the latest steps in the matter of resolving the Cambodian problem, the sides came out in favor an all-embracing settlement on the basis of respect for the national sovereignty of Cambodia and the right of the people of that country to self-determination.

Meeting Concludes

*BK1901054590 Phnom Penh SPK in English
0414 GMT 19 Jan 90*

[Text] Phnom Penh SPK January 19—Representatives of the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council attended a two day-meeting in Paris so as to find a solution to the Cambodian problem, reports TASS.

The participants debated the perspectives of the political solution to the Cambodian issue, in the light of recent initiatives in this matter. Principal consideration has been paid to the possibility of the organization of free and fair elections in Cambodia under the United Nations' supervision.

The five permanent members unanimously held that it was impossible to reach any acceptable solution to the problem by forces and that peace could only be restored by a global political solution, notably by a controlled pull-out of foreign troops, a cease-fire and the cessation of all foreign aid to the Cambodian warring parties. They accepted a greater role of the United Nations in the settlement of the Cambodian problem and stressed the need of an urgent intensification of the diplomatic efforts for finding such a solution.

A document passed at the end of the meeting underlined that the settlement of the Cambodian problem was the objective of the right to self-determination of the Cambodian people through free, fair and democratic elections under the direct administration of the United Nations, the organization which has to play an important role during the transitional period to assure the internal security in the country. The five permanent members advocated the resumption of the consultative dialogue among the Cambodian factions to facilitate the solution of the problem accordingly with the transitional period.

The participants held that more efforts should be done aimed at finding means to reach the settlement of

regional level and declared the readiness to establish regular contacts with the parties concerned for reconvening the Paris international conference on Cambodia.

The five permanent members are to meet again at the end of the month in New York, and then in Paris in mid-February.

Resolutions Adopted

BK2001091590 *Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia*
1100 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Station observer (Victor Valentinov) commentary]

[Text] The process toward normalizing the situation in Cambodia has gained a new impetus. Recently in Paris, deputy foreign ministers of five states, which are permanent members of the UN Security Council, attended a meeting on the Cambodian problem. Important resolutions were adopted at the meeting.

Comrade (Viktor Valentinov), our observer, comments on these resolutions as follows:

I must admit right away that I was one of those observers who pessimistically predicted the possibility of the Paris meeting being a success. I was not the only one who had this pessimism. In my opinion, there are sufficient reasons for this. In the past year, despite the fact that there were many international and regional conferences on Cambodia, none of them had brought any successful outcome.

The unsuccessful international conference held in Paris in August of last year can serve as concrete proof of this. It is strange that, at that time, the Khmer Rouge delegation, which represented no one, could draw the attention from some states to the point that they rejected the resolution which was about to be adopted.

But at the recent meeting, things were different. The Cambodian parties did not attend this meeting and the participants discussed the proposals by the third countries, such as Australia, Thailand, and the Soviet Union.

According to reports from Paris, every round of the meeting proceeded smoothly, during which the participants made constructive remarks. Although these remarks were made without the Cambodian parties taking part, they were not necessary for Cambodia. However, when discussing the Cambodian problem, the participants took into account the attitude of each Cambodian party. The meeting could reach a new impetus. I do not have to thoroughly examine the documents which were adopted. I would like to just briefly sum up the substance, significance, and successful points as follows:

1. The meeting participants extensively discussed the principle measures to normalize the situation in Cambodia, and accepted Thailand's proposal that the settlement be carried out phrase by phrase beginning with the

cease-fire. This point is very important because the ongoing civil war has hindered any process toward reaching reconciliation.

2. All participants supported the Soviet Union's proposal on the cessation of all foreign military aid to all Cambodian warring parties. If this proposal is accepted, there will be no more fuel to be added to the flame of war.

3. They approved the Namibia formula for normalizing the situation. In practice, this means that all parties agree with the active role of the United Nations, the most famous international body for settling international issues. In my opinion, the United Nations [words indistinct] Vietnamese troops really withdrew from Cambodia since September and, later, the UN officials may supervise the free, democratic, and just elections in that country. All Cambodian parties have agreed with the elections, though some of them agreed only verbally. Briefly speaking, Cambodia will head toward pursuing a policy of new values in time of peace. I think that even the Pol Pot clique will not dare to oppose this.

Another important point is that the meeting in Paris was not just an occasional event, nor an accidental one. The representatives of the five superpowers agreed that from now on they will hold regular meetings to carry on discussions on Cambodia. The second meeting will be held at the end of January in New York, and the third will be held in the middle of February in Paris. Therefore, a new and effective political force has joined in the search for a solution to the Cambodian problem.

Commentary on Resolution

BK2101111790 *Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia*
1230 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Station Commentator Oleg Shchedrov's commentary]

[Text] UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar voiced his support for a resolution on Cambodia adopted by the five members of the United Nations Security Council [UNSC] at a meeting held in Paris on 15-16 January. The 16-point resolution, based on a peace plan put forth by the Australian foreign minister, called for a UN trusteeship in Cambodia until free elections are held there.

The document issued in Paris is of great moral importance. It spells out important measures, such as the necessity to settle the conflict by political means, a cease-fire, the cessation of outside aid to the Cambodian parties, and so on. However, it is hard to anticipate the effective implementation of the 16-point plan, since a number of tremendous obstacles still exist.

It is worth recalling that all parties concerned did not take part in the meeting, and the question of leaving Cambodia's UN seat vacant, an indispensable and mandatory condition, is not mentioned in the 16-point resolution. Moreover, the participants to the UN Security Council meeting did not say a word about the

Cambodian opposition groups' demand for the dissolution of the existing government in Cambodia; and the role of the Pol Pot gang responsible for the genocidal policy during its heyday in Cambodia in a settlement is not clarified. These issues can only be resolved through talks between the parties involved in the conflict.

With the efforts exerted by Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, a consensus has already been reached on holding another meeting in February. But there are indications that the planned meeting will still encounter a great number of difficulties, if the eruption of the current fighting in Cambodia and the unconstructive stance adopted by the Pol Pot clique and its backers are taken into account.

Nevertheless, in my opinion, the increased danger of the protracted civil war and the growing threat posed by the Pol Pot gang could stimulate the other Cambodian parties to make concessions to each other. If so, the plan of action arranged for the United Nations to help settle the Cambodian problem might eventually become very useful.

Philippines Hails Pull-Out From Cam Ranh Bay

*HK2201054190 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines
1300 GMT 20 Jan 90*

[Text] President Corazon Aquino has hailed the decision of the Soviet Union to reduce its presence at Cam Ranh Bay as its response to events in the Asia-Pacific region and to the national interests of the Philippines.

Meanwhile Salvador Escudero, of the minority group in the Philippine House of Representatives, said that on behalf of a group of congressmen, he saluted the step taken by the Soviet Union. He called on the government to apprise the U.S. Administration of the need to shut down Clark Air Base as a response to the Soviet move. The congressman added that the need to maintain the air base is now no longer valid.

Bush Envoy Gates' Visit to Manila Analyzed

*HK2201061390 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines
1300 GMT 21 Jan 90*

[Commentary by Anatoliy Aleksandrov]

[Text] What is the objective of Robert Gates' visit to the Philippines, and why has President Bush made him his envoy instead of someone else?

On the eve of Gates' visit to Manila, Washington has declared its unconditional support for the present Philippine administration. This announcement has been made in the face of the Philippine Government's continued survival despite the attempt last December by some military groups to grab political power from the Aquino administration. Gates is being sent because he was involved in negotiations during the last coup attempt when the Aquino government asked Bush for assistance. At that time, Gates met with President

Corazon Aquino in Manila when the American president's direct support was officially granted.

The government is saying that the situation in the Philippines is still not normal, with reports of a new coup d'etat in the offing. Meanwhile authorities are continuing with their investigations into the coup attempt so as to find out who incited the rebels.

Recently, one of the coup leaders was arrested—Lieutenant Jaime Lucas of the Philippine Navy. President Aquino has called on the people to support the government in the event of another coup attempt.

Meanwhile, even though Washington has declared its support for the administration, this should be viewed in two ways. First, even as it declares its full support for the Aquino government, it is upholding its own interests. This was manifested during talks between Gates and Defense Secretary Ramos.

Negotiations between the Philippines and the United States on the issue of the military bases will take place in March and April. Because Washington wishes to keep its military bases in the Philippines, it is strengthening its hand for the talks. But groups and alliances opposed to the retention of the military bases are gathering strength. It has also been confirmed that Washington has not abided by the terms of the Memorandum of Agreement signed in 1988. So far the Philippines has received only part of the payment promised. This is the argument being used by those people who favor the retention of the military bases. [sentence as heard]

Recent statements by President Aquino are noteworthy. She pointed out that the changes in countries in East Europe and the easing of relations between North and South mean that alternative uses for the military bases should be found. In this connection, the reduction of Soviet military facilities in Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam are of help to the Aquino government's position. Meanwhile, regarding plans to transform the two large U.S. military bases, Clark Air Base and Subic Naval Base, into civilian facilities, the government set up a commission which has listed 10 options for consideration. One of them involves using Clark Field as an international airport, while Subic Bay will be used as a port.

Manila newspapers point out that Washington's warnings are suspect because it demonstrates that the United States was aware of plans to carry out the last coup, but neglected to warn the Philippine Government so as to strengthen the American hand during the bases negotiations. Some say this is an exaggeration.

One other report says that after President Aquino's visit to the United States last December [as heard] and her warm reception there, the State Department sent a directive to all American citizens to curtail all trips to the Philippines. But no clarification on this was given as to why the directive was issued.

It has also not been explained why a meeting to be attended by countries of South Asia and Southeast Asia on the subject of drug abuse, which was scheduled to be held in Manila on November 27, was cancelled. Manila newspapers commented that this was not a coincidence.

On the other hand, there is one other aspect involving pressure being exerted on the Manila Government. This involves financial assistance which the United States is due to give the Philippines. As of now, the Philippine Government is worried that this aid may be reduced, since it will be recalled that a Republican Party senator, Robert Dole, has suggested that aid for the Philippines and four other countries should be cut and the funds used on other projects. This proposal by Dole was strongly criticized by Philippine Foreign Secretary Raul Manglapus. Hence Washington is trying to placate Manila, which is why it is sending Robert Gates to try to iron things out. No doubt he will give a pledge in exchange for the Philippine Government's assurance of compliance on the issue of the military bases. There is no room for doubt about this matter.

Near East & South Asia

U.S. Official's Visit to Pakistan Examined

Meets With Afghan Rebels

BK1901151690 Moscow in Urdu to Pakistan 1300 GMT
18 Jan 90

[Yuriy Solton commentary]

[Text] The U.S. Under Secretary of State Robert Kimmitt, who is now on a study tour of Pakistan, held a meeting with the Afghan armed opposition leaders in Peshawar on Thursday [18 January]. Our correspondent Yuriy Solton writes that the meeting might not have been successful.

In less than 1 year, the so-called interim government formed by the mujahidin has demonstrated its total inability, both militarily and politically. It was only to impress their big guest, whose report will determine the magnitude of U.S. aid, that the Peshawar-based mujahidin announced just before the Peshawar meeting their plan to form a broader-based government by this June. It can be said with full confidence that even if they succeed in establishing such a government, it will not prove more effective than the existing one. But, the question is: Will the U.S. diplomats prove to be so farsighted? A review of the U.S. policy on Afghanistan is being considered in Washington.

Only 5 months ago, during the U.S.-Soviet consultations on Afghanistan in Stockholm, the U.S. side was relying, as usual, on the mujahidin's ability to secure power through war. But, now, all signs indicate that the U.S. stand has started to change. There have been repeated suggestions about a political settlement and now, there is talk about seeking the help of the United Nations and

Zahir Shah, the former king of Afghanistan, in finding a solution to the conflict, and also about stopping arms supplies to the warring factions on a mutual agreement with the Soviet Union. But, as has been stated by a senior U.S. official, the question of a radical change still does not arise. It is thought that sooner or later, the United States will have to change its strict stance of not recognizing President Najibullah's present Kabul government as a party [to the Afghan conflict].

(Nikolay Kozirov), a diplomat at the Soviet Foreign Ministry, who analyzes questions relating to Afghan settlement, says that the mujahidin will be forced to open a dialogue with the Kabul government in the spring or early days of summer this year. His analysis seems to be very pertinent. Several things may become clear during talks with James Baker, the U.S. secretary of state, in Moscow in early February.

Addresses Islamabad Conference

LD2001021590 Moscow TASS in English 2148 GMT
19 Jan 90

[By TASS political news analyst Askold Biryukov: "Afghan Settlement Needed"]

[Text] Moscow January 19 TASS—Robert Kimmitt, under secretary of state, tried to formulate the U.S. Administration's approach to the political settlement of the Afghan problem.

Touring Middle East and South Asian countries, he addressed a news conference in Islamabad.

Kimmitt asserted that the government of the Republic of Afghanistan is a stumbling block on the road to the settlement of the Afghan problem.

He expressed the hope that during the negotiations to be held in Moscow in February, the heads of the diplomatic agencies of the Soviet Union and the United States will seriously discuss the question of replacing the Kabul regime.

Washington's representative asserted that during the meeting between James Baker and Eduard Shevardnadze in Wyoming, the Soviet side mentioned steps of transition as part of political settlement of the Afghan problem.

It will be appropriate to tell Mr Kimmitt that it is for the Afghan people to decide the question of the future political structure and state power in Afghanistan.

And this question is to be decided on a basis of national reconciliation, during a dialogue, at a negotiating table, not by means of force at the battlefield. This becomes apparent even to Washington now.

Apparently, it is in this vein that the subject was discussed in Wyoming. The joint statement signed by the ministers of the USSR and the USA noted that while having different approaches to a political settlement on a basis of national reconciliation, the sides agreed that a

period of transition is needed and that there must be a mechanism for creating a broad-based government.

During a period of transition it would be possible to create such structures as a Consultative Council functioning on a basis of fair representation of all Afghan political forces staying within the country and abroad.

If it works successfully, and if hostilities in Afghanistan are terminated, the Council could decide the question of forming a broad-based coalition government.

The draft new constitution could be worked out later. It could be endorsed by Loya Jirgah [grand council], a body traditional for Afghanistan.

In accordance with the Constitution, free elections could be held, under international control if needed. Following that, the victorious parties would form a new cabinet which would get down to the restoration of economy and normal life in the country.

It is only in this context that transitional measures could have been meant in the process of political settlement in Afghanistan.

If the United States is really interested in the search for the way out of an impasse in which its policy landed in Afghanistan, it should face realities.

Consequently, it should recognise the viability of the Kabul government following the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan, should stop banking on an artificial Peshawar-based "transitional government" and on the rebels who are torn by strife among themselves and with the population.

The attempts to solve the Afghan problem through keeping apart from this process the Kabul government and the People's Democratic Party, an influential force in Afghanistan, will be futile.

Political Reasons Seen Behind Pardons in Iran

*NC1801215190 Moscow in Persian to Iran
1100 GMT 18 Jan 90*

[Yuriy Andreyev commentary]

[Text] Dear listeners, Iran's religious leader Ayatollah Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i has announced that a group of prisoners will be pardoned. IRNA reports indicate that the pardons were approved on the eve of the anniversary of the birth of Fatimah, the daughter of the Prophet Muhammad.

This pardon is in no way a new phenomenon in the political life of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Such acts have taken place in Iran in the past. In the past year alone, several thousand Iranians were released from prison. The latest large-scale pardon in Iran was on the anniversary of the birthday of Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam, in October.

The current pardon appears more limited than this earlier one. Under 'Ali Khamene'i's decree, those to be released will be persons who received sentences of up to 1 year by military courts. Moreover, the prison terms of those sentenced by military courts are to be halved.

The relatively limited nature of the current pardon is no accident. Apparently this is an intermediate measure and the government is expected to announce a broader pardon in February on the 11th anniversary of the victory of the Islamic revolution in Iran.

Last year, on the 10th anniversary of the victory of the Islamic revolution, 2,600 people were pardoned or released from prison.

I think that there are political reasons behind the recent series of pardons in Iran. (Renaldo Galindo Pol), a UN expert on human rights, is to arrive in Tehran within the next few days. As you know, world public opinion has repeatedly expressed concern over the human rights situation in Iran for the past 5 years. The Third Committee of the United Nations is expected to issue a final report on this in February, and many foreign observers believe that the conclusions drawn in this report will be critical of Iran.

It is under these conditions that the Iranian leadership has taken specific steps to alter the existing situation in the country. Apparently the pardon is intended to create a favorable atmosphere for (Renaldo Galindo Pol's) trip to Iran. In this regard, it is interesting to note that the Iranian religious leadership's pardon concerns those who were sentenced by military courts. It is no secret to anyone that the use of military courts to try civilians has been condemned by world public opinion and is considered a violation of human rights. Of course, the UN experts welcome all the steps taken during the past [words indistinct] years.

However, the current pardon is not expected to have a marked effect on the current situation in Iran. The current pardon, like former ones, is (?limited) and does not include the political opponents of the regime. According to official figures, there are currently about 900 political prisoners in Iranian prisons. This number includes members of leftist organizations whose services to the Iranian people are obvious and whose release would definitely be a responsible act of political justice.

Commentary on Iranian Lebanon Presence, Relations

*NC1901121190 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress
in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 18 Jan 90*

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Syria has refrained from granting permission to 60 Islamic Revolution Guards of Iran to cross the Lebanese border. The guards were slated to replace their compatriots in the ranks of Hizballah, who are fighting against the Amal group, their co-religionists. The fact of the Iranians' presence in Lebanon is not a surprising

phenomenon in itself. The Iranian leaders have admitted this in a semiofficial manner.

However, while the war among the Shiites in the Iqlim al-Tuffah region continues unabated, there is reason to ponder over the presence of the Iranian elements in the Lebanese crisis. As we know, the idea of the export of the Islamic revolution forms a large part of Iran's policy and is a center of gravity of the so-called revolutionary test [azmayesh], which has been transferred to partly Christian Lebanon. It is here that the Hizballah appeared.

If we concede that these are the Hizballah, then the other groups of Lebanon should be known as the Hizb-e Shaytan [Party of Satan]. The question is not one of names and appellations, but whether Hizballah, comprising a conspicuously large segment of Iranians who cannot even speak Arabic, should become the instruments of Tehran's policy in Lebanon, a place where everything is already quite complicated and chaotic.

At present, the sound of ricocheting bullets can be heard in Iqlim al-Tuffah. Shiites are killing Shiites and destroying everything in their path. These clashes between Amal and Hizballah are not based on any ideological principles and there does not seem to be any dispute on the division of the boundaries of the territory of influence for purposes of pillage and plunder, even though this in itself is also of considerable importance. Lebanon has become an arena where the relations between the various governments of the world, who finance their armed groups in the country, are highlighted. In this regard, the ties between Damascus and Tehran, which were quite warm until recently, have become complicated. There are specific reasons for this. Most important of all is Syria's recognition of the al-Ta'if accord, which was categorically rejected by Iran. Iran had insisted on the continuation of war till the last Lebanese. The acceptance of the al-Ta'if accord means an end to war in Lebanon.

The second reason for the freeze in Iranian-Syrian relations was the initiation of a trend toward close ties between Syria and Egypt. Yes, the path of politics in the Near East is fraught with complications and confusion. However, it is Lebanon that has to pay for all these strategems, and the role of the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps in this regard is not small. They came to Lebanon to fight against Zionist aggression and to protect the Islamic holy sites, but it transpired that they are instruments for the export of the Islamic revolution. It is for this purpose that the step taken by the (?Palestinian) leadership in dispatching its forces to separate the groups of Amal and Hizballah factions is an extremely noble and wise one. However, this is nothing more than a half-measure. Iqlim al-Tuffah needs durable peace as much as the whole of Lebanon, and this cannot be attained without the goodwill of the countries engaged in the imbroglio. This is worth (?pondering over). Syria, Iran, and Iraq can have any kind of relations among

themselves as it is something which only concerns them, but they also have ties with Lebanon, which is a mass of deadlocks.

It would be appropriate to say that the Israeli command headquarters can gloat and rejoice. The roar of guns in Iqlim al-Tuffah has reduced those conditions to secondary importance which enable a vast part of the Lebanese territory to remain under Israeli occupation. [sentence as heard] Those who should combat the Zionist aggression are constantly trying to crush one another.

Commentary on Iran's Reaction to Border Events

NC2001131190 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT
19 Jan 90

[Yuriy Andreyev commentary]

[Text] The situation in the Soviet Caucasus, especially along the Soviet-Iranian border, remains extremely tense. The government has declared a state of emergency in the region. Our country's leadership is taking various steps to normalize the situation. In assessing the situation, we see that displaying a wise approach, restraint, and realism is now more necessary than ever.

Our era is characterized by unpredictable events and contradictory and awe-inspiring phenomena and by the existence of unprecedented means of mass communication. We must be ready for everything. The catastrophic events along the Soviet-Iranian border show the validity of this statement. We cannot limit ourselves to expressions of regret when speaking about these incidents. Such sentiments seldom help policy and regrets are often useless. The situation that has been created must be analyzed objectively.

We have repeatedly spoken about the realities of the incidents on the Soviet-Iranian border. There is no need to repeat such reports. The Iranian mass media's great interest in this Soviet republic is entirely natural. As is known, various estimates show that about 10 million Azeris are living in Iran. Many of them have relatives in the Soviet Union with whom they maintain close contact. Soviet Azerbaijan and Iranian Azarbayjan are linked by deep-rooted economic, political, and cultural ties.

Of course things have not been always smooth. There have at times been extreme and unexpected complications. At certain times tension between Moscow and Tehran was exacerbated, and this naturally affected the situation on the borders.

However, we cannot ignore recent developments. Despite everything, the two sides have always been inclined toward goodwill and neighborliness in their long-term plans. The normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and Iran started early last year when Imam Khomeyni's special envoy delivered a message from the Iranian leader to Mikhail Gorbachev in

Moscow, which laid the foundation for good understanding between the two countries.

The growing consolidation of Moscow-Tehran political relations has raised relations between our two countries to a new level. The issue of creating a mechanism for the two governments to discuss various problems, thereby eliminating dependence on irregular meetings, is being studied. The Soviet Union and Iran have created a mechanism to coordinate their stances in the interests of the governments of the two countries, and the incidents on the Soviet-Iranian border may have become the first test of how strong this mechanism is.

Iran's reaction to the difficult conditions in the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic can be divided into at least two levels: the state level and the propaganda level. The Islamic Republic's official stand has been one of restraint and Iran has announced that the incidents in Azerbaijan are the Soviet Union's domestic affair. During the recent visit to Moscow by Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister Mahmud Va'ez, the two sides analyzed the situation on the Soviet-Iranian border and expressed their readiness to expand contacts between the residents of both countries and border relations, especially trade and cultural exchanges, and to create favorable conditions for contacts between relatives living on both sides of the border. An Iranian delegation headed by (Taleh Mas'uleh), head of the visa and passport department at the Iranian Foreign Ministry, was in the Soviet Union at the same time. The draft of a memorandum of understanding between the Soviet and Iranian Governments on facilities for travel by citizens of both countries as well as the draft of an agreement on facilitating border travel formalities for people living in the border areas were prepared during talks. These documents are expected to be signed in Tehran in late January.

Iran's Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati said during his recent visit to Tabriz that Iran is prepared to welcome the Soviet Azeris. The Iranian side has repeatedly and officially stated that it is prepared to cooperate with the Soviet Union in this.

Meanwhile, there are other realities which we should heed. The Iranian press tries, in some cases, to reap propagandistic capital from the situation that has been created. For example, the demonstrations on the Soviet-Iranian border were attributed to the Islamic fundamentalist sentiments of the people in that area. JOMHURIYE ESLAMI described these incidents as the rising of the sun of Islam and an expression of the desire for the unity of all Muslims. This point of view is expressed in other Iranian mass media as well. This approach is not new. For some years now Iran has tried to affect and strengthen the religious sentiments of Soviet Muslims by broadcasting religious radio programs in various dialects and languages. In this case, such propaganda is blatantly political in nature. Some try to strengthen their ideological positions and their foreign policy with such propaganda and to interpret events to fit a certain mold. The

spiteful nature of such comments is very clear, and a complicated national phenomenon is displayed in this type of propaganda. Realism is set aside and the intention to reap political capital can be seen. For example, KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL blatantly writes about the annexation of part of Iranian territory by Russia. The newspaper's editorial says that the (?vacuum that) exists in ideology, the economy, and the administrative system will drive the people who are living in the annexed areas to turn to a new model in which they have become interested after the bankruptcy of Marxism.

I think that the KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL editorial staff is in a great hurry to bury the Soviet Union. A new type of socialism is being born in our country today, but this birth is a painful process. Perestroika is advancing, but this is a painful and complicated process. This is not at all surprising. The path taken by people who want to move in new directions is always a difficult one, but the directives for our advance do not permit any doubt. The efforts by those who exploit national conflicts and disagreements in the Soviet Union are in vain. Political life, like everyday life, passes by those who have based their strategy on the fact that they are exceptional. Efforts to exploit the problems in a neighboring country are contrary to morality and are thus doomed to failure. The situation that has been created in the border areas calls for a wise approach by bearing in mind mutual interests, for sincere talks, and for respect for each other's rights. The new political thinking can and should be turned into an effective means to solve this problem. It is only this philosophy of relations between countries that can fundamentally improve the existing atmosphere in the region.

Lukyanov Receives New Jordanian Ambassador

LD2001020990 Moscow TASS in English 1848 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 19 TASS—The Jordanian leadership praises the Soviet Union's constructive position in international affairs and its principled policy, which aims to achieve a just settlement in the Middle East, said Jordanian Ambassador Afash al-'Adwan Muhammad when presenting his credentials to First Vice-President Anatoliy Lukyanov in the Kremlin today.

Arab peoples closely follow and support permanent Soviet efforts to establish peace in that region and other flash points, the ambassador said.

Receiving the credentials on behalf of the Presidium and the president of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Lukyanov stressed that new political thinking generated by perestroika opens opportunities for the radical improvement of international relations and helps pool efforts of states in tackling difficult problems, including the settlement of regional conflict situations at the negotiating table.

Both sides expressed satisfaction with the state of Soviet-Jordanian relations and confirmed readiness for their improvement.

Dyumayev, Pakistan's Jabbar Hold Science Talks
BK1901120990 Islamabad Domestic Service in Urdu
0200 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Javed Jabbar, minister of state for science and technology, held talks with K.M. Dyumayev, deputy chairman of the Soviet State Committee for Science and Technology, in Moscow on a wide range of subjects relating to science and technology. The Soviet official assured Javed Jabbar of his country's desire to assist Pakistan in both of these fields.

East Europe

Shevardnadze, GDR's Fischer Hold Moscow Talks

Fischer Arrives

LD2001092790 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0720 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 20 January (TASS)—Talks between USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer, who arrived in Moscow on a working visit yesterday evening at the invitation of the Soviet Government, commenced in the Soviet capital today.

This is the first meeting of the leaders of the two socialist states' foreign policy departments since the well-known events in the German Democratic Republic. With what results will it end? It must be assumed that Fischer will touch on this subject at his news conference, which, it is expected, will also take place in the Soviet capital today. The last time that Eduard Shevardnadze and Oskar Fischer met and held talks was also here, exactly 2 years ago. Important changes have occurred in both the USSR and the GDR since then.

The meeting is taking place in a private house belonging to the USSR Foreign Ministry on Aleksey Tolstoy Street, where Oskar Fischer has stayed several times during official conversations with Soviet representatives. The guest was warmly received by Eduard Shevardnadze, who had not been able to come to Vnukovo Airport yesterday to welcome his counterpart from the GDR. The talks began with a one-on-one conversation, with just an interpreter taking part.

Fischer Visit, Talks Viewed

PM2201141990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 Jan 90 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Working Visit"]

[Text] On 19-20 January 1990, GDR Minister of Foreign Affairs Oskar Fischer was in Moscow for a working visit at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

A thorough exchange of opinions took place between Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign

affairs, and Oskar Fischer on the progress of the transformations in both countries, on the state of and prospects for bilateral cooperation, and on topical international matters.

Describing the present stage of perestroika in the Soviet Union, Eduard Shevardnadze stressed that movement towards its main objective—a qualitatively new state of society, and a human and democratic look to socialism—requires enormous efforts on the part of the CPSU and the whole people; a decisive regeneration of the party and a strengthening of the unity of its ranks; and all forces in society rallying around the program of revolutionary changes. The outcome of the work of the latest CPSU Central Committee plenums and of the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies has confirmed this quite patently.

Oskar Fischer spoke of the steps being taken by the GDR's coalition government led by Hans Modrow to establish a constructive dialogue and interaction between the republic's political parties and movements in the interests of bringing about profound reforms in all spheres of the life of society.

The sides were united on the point that perestroika in the USSR and the renewal processes in the GDR, and the similarity of the tasks being tackled in both countries, create favorable grounds for elevating bilateral relations to new limits, and for their forward development on the principles of friendship and mutual support, equality of rights, noninterference in one another's internal affairs, and respect for freedom of choice.

The many-sided, close cooperation with the Soviet Union, Oskar Fischer said, corresponds to the fundamental interests of the GDR and assists in implementing genuinely democratic transformations in the Republic.

Eduard Shevardnadze stressed the solidarity of the Soviet Union with the German Democratic Republic, its interest in the stable, progressive development of the GDR, and its readiness to give it support in strengthening its sovereignty and international positions.

Both sides expressed the intention to actively develop links between the USSR and the GDR along the line of governments, parliaments, political parties, and public, scientific, and creative organizations, and to broaden the possibilities for contacts between the citizens and youth of both countries. An agreement was reached on activating cooperation in the field of culture, education, and in the mass media, and on questions concerning the satisfaction of cultural and ethnic needs of Soviet citizens of German nationality.

The ministers noted the large scale of bilateral trade and economic links, and their extreme significance for both states. As is known, the Soviet Union's share of the GDR's foreign trade is 39 percent, and the GDR's share of Soviet foreign trade turnover is 11 percent. The USSR supplies the GDR every year with 17.1 million tonnes of oil, more than 7 billion cubic meters of gas, a significant

quantity of other raw materials and energy sources vitally important for the Republic, and machine tool and machine buildin output. In return for Soviet supplies, the GDR satisfies 20 percent of the Soviet Union's import needs in machinery and equipment, and supplies it with consumer goods in large amounts. In all, more than 200 intergovernmental and interdepartmental agreements between the Soviet Union and the GDR are in force. Eduard Shevardnadze and Oskar Fischer expressed themselves in favor of a fuller and more effective utilization of the potential for economic cooperation. Any breach of the links which have been formed in this sphere would have a negative effect on the solution of national economic and social tasks in both countries. The pressing need to switch to more progressive and effective forms of bilateral economic cooperation, to increase production and scientific-technical cooperation, and to introduce a new system of reciprocal settlements was stressed.

The importance of decisions made at the 45th sitting of the CEMA session for restructuring the CEMA member countries' economic cooperation was noted at the talks. Eduard Shevardnadze and Oskar Fischer reaffirmed their countries' desire to play an active part in the radical transformation of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

In light of the dynamic changes occurring on the continent of Europe, the ministers emphasized the significance of the Warsaw Treaty as an important stabilizing factor in Europe and the world, and as a reliable instrument for safeguarding the security of the allied states. They advocated the continued development of cooperation within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty, an intensification of the political component in its work, and an improvement in the mechanism for alliance collaboration at all levels.

The talks reflected the total unity of views in their assessments of the changes that have lately been taking place in relations between East and West.

The ministers remarked on the fundamentally important significance of the outcome of the Soviet-American summit meeting held off the shores of Malta, and spoke in favor of an agreement being very quickly reached on a 50 percent reduction by the Soviet Union and the United States in strategic offensive weapons, and of the Geneva talks on a total ban on chemical weapons being concluded in the current year.

The adherence of both countries to the all-European process and to the accords attained within its framework was confirmed. The USSR and the GDR intend to actively advance toward signing, at the Vienna talks in 1990, a treaty on reducing conventional armed forces, and an agreement on measures for reinforcing trust and security in Europe.

The sides are coming out for holding an all-European meeting at the highest level late this year. This meeting is called upon to impart a new impulse to the efforts aimed

at developing goodneighborly cooperation on the continent, and constructing a common all-European home.

The USSR minister of foreign affairs confirmed support for Gregor Gysi's proposal on issues of reducing military confrontation in central Europe, and stated the Soviet side's preparedness to discuss, in concrete aspects, this initiative during the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party for Democratic Socialism chairman's visit to Moscow in the next few days.

The sides were unanimous that a stable peace and security in Europe can be ensured only if the territorial and political realities that exist on the continent are strictly observed. Any actions directed against that run counter to the fundamental interests of the European peoples and the spirit and the letter of the Helsinki Final Act.

Having noted the importance of constructively developing relations between both states and the FRG, the ministers voiced the conviction that the concept of "a treaty-based community" of the two German states, put forward by the GDR Government, serves the development of equitable cooperation between the GDR and the FRG on a universally recognized international legal basis.

At the same time, the attempts by certain quarters in the FRG to interfere in the internal affairs of the GDR, to incite people to change its state system, or to exert a direct influence on the election campaign in the Republic, were classified as unlawful and impermissible. The people of the GDR have the right to decide their own fate in a sovereign fashion, without interference and prompting from abroad, and guided by their right to freedom of socio-political choice.

Interest was reaffirmed in expanding the USSR's and the GDR's ties with West Berlin, and also in involving it more actively in the pan-European process, assuming strict observance of the quadripartite agreement of 3 September 1971.

Eduard Shevardnadze voiced serious concern over the outrages [vykhodki] of extreme rightwing and neo-fascist elements in the GDR who have perpetrated acts of criminal vandalism on monuments and memorial cemeteries for fallen Soviet soldiers.

Oskar Fischer expressed regret over incidents insulting to the memory of the Soviet liberating troops that have taken place and said that these outrages had aroused profound indignation on the part of the overwhelming majority of GDR citizens, and condemnation from the government.

The ministers discussed issues connected with the upcoming visit to the Soviet Union by Hans Modrow, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, which is due in the very near future.

The Moscow talks passed in an atmosphere of friendship and complete mutual understanding.

On behalf of his government, Oskar Fischer invited Eduard Shevardnadze to pay a visit to the GDR. The invitation was gratefully accepted.

This evening Oskar Fischer left Moscow for home. He was seen off at the airport by Eduard Shevardnadze and other officials.

Gerd Koenig, the GDR ambassador to the USSR, was in the escort party.

Statement Issued

LD2001203590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1842 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—The present processes in the USSR and GDR are the basis for further shaping bilateral relations on the basis of friendship, mutual support, and nonintervention in internal affairs. In a statement by Eduard Shevardnadze and Oskar Fischer, the foreign ministers of the USSR and GDR, published in Moscow at the end of 2 days of talks, the two sides affirmed the intention to further develop their relations at all levels of politics, science, society, and culture and to expand tourism.

Oskar Fischer said that close cooperation with the Soviet Union corresponds to the most fundamental interests of the GDR and promotes the realization of truly democratic restructuring in the country. Eduard Shevardnadze stressed USSR solidarity with the GDR and interest in the latter's steady development. His country is prepared to support the GDR in the consolidation of its sovereignty and its international position. The two ministers underlined the need for a transition to more effective forms of economic cooperation and the introduction of new accounting systems.

In connection with changes on the European Continent the ministers emphasized the Warsaw Pact as an important factor of stability in Europe and the world and as a reliable instrument for the security of the allied states. They advocated further cooperation in the alliance and strengthening its political component.

There was agreement in the assessment of the recent changes taking place in East-West relations. The two ministers underlined the great import of the Soviet-U.S. meeting in Malta and called for earliest possible agreements at the various disarmament negotiations. They also advocated an all-European summit at the end of the year.

Eduard Shevardnadze supported the proposals of the SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party for Democratic Socialism] Chairman, Gregor Gysi, concerning the lessening of military confrontation in central Europe and spoke out in favor of a detailed discussion of this initiative during Gysi's visit to Moscow planned for the next few days. There was agreement on the view that lasting peace and security in Europe can be safeguarded only if the existing territorial-political realities are strictly observed, and that any actions aimed against

them are against the fundamental interests of the European peoples, and the spirit and letter of the Helsinki Final Act.

The ministers said that the development of the two states' relations with the FRG as well as the conception of a "treaty-based community" of the two German states proposed by the GDR Government are constructive. At the same time the inadmissible attempts at intervention by certain circles of the FRG in the affairs of the GDR were rejected.

Furthermore, interest was reaffirmed in expanding relations between both countries and West Berlin and more actively integrating it into the overall European process, with strict observance of the quadripartite agreement of 3 September 1971.

Eduard Shevardnadze expressed serious concern about the actions of right-wing extremist and neo-fascist elements in the GDR. Foreign Minister Fischer expressed regret over the scandalous acts and said that the majority of GDR citizens regard them with profound outrage and that they were condemned by the government.

The Ministers also discussed questions relating to the forthcoming visit by GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow. The invitation by Oskar Fischer to his Soviet counterpart to make a visit to the GDR was accepted with thanks.

At an international news conference, Oskar Fischer said that there are not only ideas about reunification in the GDR. Unification has to be seen by both German states directly in connection with overcoming the division of Europe. The GDR is currently trying to base its relations with the FRG on treaties. He was working on the assumption that the two German states will continue to exist. In his view, such thinking is also in line with the thinking of those in responsible positions in the East and West. The Germans have to take account of the lessons of the past and should set no goals that would give their neighbors cause for concern. Fischer denied that the GDR has plans to apply for membership in the EC and stressed its interest in a trade and cooperation agreement.

A withdrawal of Soviet troops from the GDR was not discussed. People should not concern themselves about Soviet troops in the GDR as long as Western troops are stationed in the FRG, Fischer said. A withdrawal would have no influence on the restructuring process in the GDR, for it is a matter for the GDR and not for Soviet troops. In his view there is no reason to link the two problems, Oskar Fischer said.

Fischer Holds News Conference

LD2001181190 Moscow TASS in English 1755 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 20 TASS—The current meeting in Moscow with Eduard Shevardnadze marks a stage in the process of political consultations between the two

countries. Oskar Fischer, foreign minister of the German Democratic Republic, told a news conference, held here today at the end of his working visit to the USSR.

Fischer said that the meeting focused, in addition to bilateral relations, on the state of affairs at the Vienna talks, preparations for an "open sky" conference in Canada, and the U.N.'s role in the modern world.

On relations between the GDR and the USSR, the minister described them as a major part of the foundation of the future common European house. He said that both sides stressed interest in extending the Warsaw Treaty's political functions, spoke out in favour of effective work of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

Replying to a question of the possible "reunification of Germany", the GDR foreign minister ruled out creation of a "fourth reich" in 1937 borders. At the same time he said the "reunification" process is possible, but it should be closely linked with the process whereby Europe's division is overcome. Fischer highly assessed the plan of a "treaty-based community" between the GDR and the FRG, which was agreed upon upon during a meeting in Dresden between GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow and FRG Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl. He also expressed dismay at the fact that Kohl later practically rejected agreements that had been reached in Dresden.

Replying to questions about the possibility of Soviet troop withdrawal from the GDR, Fischer said the process can have only a reciprocal nature, i.e. go along with the withdrawal of foreign troops from the FRG territory. He said the presence of Soviet troops did not affect reform process in the GDR.

Fischer resolutely denounced neo-Nazi sorties on the GDR territory, in particular, the defilement of the Soviet memorial at Berlin's Treptower Park.

In reply to a question by a TASS correspondent he said that neo-Nazism and revanchism do not have a mass nature. At the same time the foreign minister stressed the inadmissibility of attempts by the FRG's extreme right forces to influence the development of events in the GDR.

Speaking about the problems of Soviet Germans and the possibility of their leaving for permanent residence in the GDR, the minister said his country believes that people should stay where they live, but in appropriate conditions. The GDR is prepared to take part in creating such conditions, Fischer said.

More on News Conference

PM2101184790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 Jan 90 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Working Visit"]

[Excerpts] GDR Foreign Minister O. Fischer paid a working visit to Moscow 19-20 January 1990 at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

O. Fischer and E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR minister of foreign affairs, held a thorough exchange of opinions on the course of the transformations in both countries, on the state of and prospects for bilateral cooperation, and on topical international problems. [passage omitted]

At the conclusion of the talks O. Fischer met with Soviet and foreign journalists. The minister noted that his visit to the USSR had taken place in the context of the political consultations between the governments of the two states. He said that the process of revolutionary transformations in the GDR and the USSR is creating new prerequisites for the all-around development of ties between the two countries, and he emphasized his leadership's strong interest in stimulating them in every way and rendering them more dynamic and profound. This approach, the guest said, is fully shared by the Soviet side.

The leader of the GDR's foreign policy department described the political situation in his country in the wake of the well-known events. Responding to questions from representatives of the mass news media, he touched on a theme which is keenly felt by Soviet people: How dangerous are the outrages by Nazis in the GDR. A fourth Reich is impossible, the minister assured his audience. I have been convinced of this by the mighty demonstrations set in motion in the GDR in response to the intrigues of the fascist elements. During these manifestations the working people have come out decisively in favor of friendship with the Soviet Union and against Nazism and revanchism. Fischer added that all states of the world must be vitally interested in preventing the "brownshirts" spinning their web. [passage omitted]

Moscow TV Interviews Fischer

LD2101235390 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1919 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Interview with GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer by Aleksandr Zholkver, in Moscow on 20 January; Fischer speaks in German with Zholkver's superimposed translation; from the "Topical Interview" program—recorded]

[Text] [Zholkver] At the end of last week GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer was in Moscow on a working visit at the invitation of the Soviet Government, and on completion of his visit he kindly agreed to give us an interview.

Comrade Fischer, yours is the first visit to Moscow by a minister from the GDR following the radical changes that have occurred in your republic. What issues were at the focus of the talks this time? Perhaps we could start with bilateral relations.

[Fischer] To tell the truth I had not given any thought to the fact that I am the first minister to travel to Moscow from the GDR following the revolutionary transformations in our country, but I am very glad of this. The talks with Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze were substantive. We did indeed talk about bilateral relations between the USSR and GDR, relations the importance and scope of which are growing even more in the course of the transformations taking place in our countries. Here my views are fully at one with those of Eduard Amvrosiyevich, and I am very happy about that.

[Zholkver] In which spheres is our cooperation expected to develop?

[Fischer] In fact, in all spheres of the lives of our countries. I would say, first and foremost, the economy, as the fundamental pillar of our relations. We remain major trading partners for each other, and we in the GDR are striving to exert even more efforts in this area. The workers of our enterprises that export their output to your country want to be the most reliable of partners as far as quality and timeliness of deliveries are concerned. We know that you aspire to this as well and this is in our mutual interest, since it will help foster the success of the transformations in our countries.

We also talked about the scientists of our countries expanding and intensifying their contacts. For example, I ask myself why our philosophers, social scientists, and sociologists should not cooperate more closely. Why should they not engage in joint development of more effective incentives for production? Up until now, both of us have thought that people's awareness would develop of its own accord. It turns out that this is not enough. Our social scientists should think about how we can better stimulate people's work.

[Zholkver] How can we better develop ties between the people in our countries?

[Fischer] I think that it would be correct to develop direct human contacts, between families, between young people. There are already plenty of examples of such friendly ties. It would be desirable for there to be more of them. This would make it possible to strengthen friendship between our countries, and make it more creative.

[Zholkver] Would this not also be an additional stimulus for our more active participation in construction of the common European home?

[Fischer] I share that point of view. This is of especially great significance for us in the GDR, since both in the FRG and in our country there are quite a few people now thinking about the reunification of Germany. (There is also) this point of view: The unification of Germany is only possible if we have a common European home, if we overcome the split of Europe. Germans of both the German states must make their contribution to this, but they must not engage in adventurism, and see in the context of reunification of Germany the creation of a fourth German reich. You and I seem to be about the

same age. We lived through the times of the Third Reich, and that was enough for us. There must not be, and will not be, any fourth reich.

[Zholkver] I will not try to conceal the fact, Comrade Minister, that in letters that we receive from our television viewers there are expressions of concern in connection with the intrigues of the neo-fascists in the GDR. What is your point of view on this issue?

[Fischer] I would like to tell the Soviet television viewers that at the news conference in Moscow, I made a public apology already for the neo-fascist escapades that took place in Berlin and certain other towns of the GDR. I would like to remind you that there was recently a big anti-fascist demonstration in Berlin, in Treptower Park, at the memorial to Soviet servicemen. Some 250,000-300,000 people took part in this demonstration against the intrigues of the neo-Fascists. These people state unambiguously that we will not allow the besmirching of friendship with the Soviet Union. We want to preserve the anti-fascist heritage in the GDR. Yes, there are small neo-Nazi groups in the GDR, but there is no centralized organization of them. These groups are nurtured from the FRG by Schoenhuber's Republican Party. But I would like to stress that we have not permitted this Schoenhuber to cross our border, even though he is a deputy of the European Parliament. We do not intend to put up with these intrigues of the neo-Fascists. We will fight them, and I would like to stress once again that we want to remain friends of the Soviet Union.

[Zholkver] And how do you see the possible contribution of the two German states to the cause of disarmament in Europe?

[Fischer] It would be very good if they were to make such a contribution. As far as the GDR is concerned, we have already been doing this unilaterally. However, it would be fitting for the other side also to display readiness for this. The GDR defense minister long ago made the proposal to his West German colleague to meet in order to discuss the problems of disarmament. However, Mr Stoltenberg has thus far not replied to this proposal. We hope, however, that this will take place, all the same, and that both the German states, in close contact with their allies, will make their contribution to the cause of reduction of armed forces and armaments of NATO and of the Warsaw Pact.

[Zholkver] And finally, one more question. How will consultations between our states develop in the future.

[Fischer] Our mutual consultations will continue to be regular ones. We spoke about this with Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze. In the near future, the GDR's head of government is to visit the Soviet Union. I think that this will be a very useful visit. It will make it possible to exchange opinions on all the most important issues of our relations. I am certain that this will promote even closer coordination of the policies and economies of our countries.

[Zholkver] thank you very much for the interview, Comrade Minister.

[Fischer] For my part, I would like to thank you for the opportunity to address Soviet viewers and to wish them good health, success, and optimism.

Fischer Departs 20 Jan

*LD2001215190 Moscow TASS in English 2135 GMT
20 Jan 90*

[Text] Moscow January 21 TASS—Oskar Fischer, minister of foreign affairs of the German Democratic Republic (GDR), has stayed in Moscow on a working visit on January 19-20 at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

Eduard Shevardnadze, Politburo member of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs, and Oskar Fischer had a detailed exchange of views on the course of transformations in the two countries, the state of and prospects for bilateral cooperation, and on topical international issues.

The two ministers were unanimous that perestroika in the Soviet Union and the renewal processes in the GDR and the similarity of tasks being tackled in the two countries furnish a favourable basis for giving a new dimension to bilateral relations.

Close versatile cooperation with the Soviet Union, Fischer said, accords with the GDR's basic interests and promotes truly democratic transformations in the republic.

Shevardnadze emphasised the Soviet Union's solidarity with the GDR, its interest in steady onward development of the GDR and readiness to give it support in strengthening its sovereignty and international positions.

The two sides expressed an intention to actively develop contacts between the Soviet Union and the GDR through the channels of governments, parliaments, political parties, public, scientific and creative organisations and to broaden possibilities for contacts between citizens and young people of the two countries.

The two ministers pointed out the magnitude of bilateral trade and economic relations and their major importance for the two countries.

The importance of the decisions, taken at the 45th session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, for reorganising economic cooperation among CMEA countries was pointed out during the talks.

The talks reflected complete unity of views in the evaluations of changes taking place in East-West relations recently.

The two countries' commitment to the CSCE process and to accords reached within the framework of the

process was reaffirmed. The two sides favour the holding of a European summit at the end of this year.

The two ministers agreed that lasting peace and security in Europe can be ensured only provided the territorial and political realities existing on the continent are observed.

The talks in Moscow were held in an atmosphere of friendship and complete mutual understanding.

Fischer left Moscow for home Saturday [20 January] night.

SED-PDS Expels Krenz, Politburo Members

*LD2101135690 Moscow TASS in English 1348 GMT
21 Jan 90*

[Text] Berlin January 21 TASS—Egon Krenz, the former general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and president of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic, was expelled for the SUPG-PDS (the new name of the GDR Communist Party adopted by a special congress in December 1989).

Along with him, the party expelled the following members and alternate members of the former Politburo of the SUPG Central Committee: Hans-Joachim Boehme, Horst Dohlus, Kurt Hager, Joachim Herrmann, Werner Jarowsky, Heinz Dessler, Inge Lange, Erich Mueckenberger, Margarete Mueller, Manfred Neumann, Guenter Schabowski, Gerhard Schuerer and Werner Wakde.

This information is given in the report circulated today about a meeting of the central commission on conflict questions of the SUPG-PDS. A decision was made to rehabilitate 47 party members who were persecuted during Stalin's reprisals.

A meeting of the SUPG-PDS board held on Saturday rejected a proposal on the party's decision. Party Chairman Chairman Gregor Gysi told a news conference today that the SUPG-PDS proposed that opposition parties and movements in the GDR take part in government activities.

At the same time he proposed that an independent be elected president of the GDR Council of State.

PRAVDA Views SED-PDS Campaign Position

*PM1901124590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
17 Jan 90 First Edition p 6*

[Own correspondent M. Podklyuchnikov dispatch: "Elections Loom. GDR Today"]

[Text] Berlin—I am holding a leaflet. Large pale-pink letters reading—"SED-PDS" [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism] are visible through the print on a white background. The following heavily underlined words stand out: "What are the SED-PDS' tasks in the next few months? Our country is

at stake! The secure future of our citizens is at stake! Democratic socialism needs an election success!"

Although the elections to the GDR People's Chamber are still a long way off—they are scheduled for 6 May this year—the election campaign has already started in the country. The leaflet issued by the SED-PDS is one of its heralds. It gives an inkling of the heat which will mark the political clashes between the forces taking part in the solution of the fundamental questions affecting the people's life.

Three months have passed since, under pressure from below, the GDR embarked on the road of socialist renewal. They have been filled with turbulent and complex events. What has changed is not just the image of the SED-PDS, which at its extraordinary congress refashioned its goals and declared that from now on it regards itself as one of the parties operating in the country on an equal footing with others. Other existing parties in the GDR—the Democratic Peasants' Party, the Liberal Democratic Party, the National Democratic Party, and the Christian Democratic Union—have also begun to redefine their stances. Some of them have removed the word "socialism" from their policy statements, instead giving prominence to words such as "social market economy." Despite the fact that formerly, as part of the democratic bloc, these parties shared government responsibility, the liberals, Christian democrats, and national democrats alike are now trying to dissociate themselves from the SED-PDS. The Christian Democratic Union has shifted furthest to the right.

Alongside the old parties new ones are cropping up one after another—the Social Democratic party, the "Democratic Breakthrough," the Free Democratic Party, the Christian Social Union, and the "Greens." Reports about the establishment of new parties appear in the press so often that readers simply cannot remember them all. Parties modeled on parties which exist in the FRG are, naturally, the easiest to remember. And it is by no means merely a formal overlapping of titles.

In an effort to exert additional political pressure on the GDR, right-wing forces in the FRG have even begun to urge the federal government to cancel the next meeting between H. Modrow, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and FRG Chancellor H. Kohl, which was to mark a step toward the creation of a "contractual association." The right-wing forces claim that it will merely serve to enhance the prestige of the SED-PDS. Such a meeting, according to them, should be held only after the 6 May elections, from which the West expects a radical change in the political lineup in the GDR.

The constituent congresses or other events organized by certain parties—the "Democratic Breakthrough," the Christian Democratic Union, or the social democrats—are attended by prominent politicians from West Germany. What is more, they do it with such striking

unceremoniousness—as if they were not visiting a sovereign, independent state, but arriving in one of the FRG's Laender.

In West Berlin people talk openly about material support for opposition GDR parties. Schoenhuber, the head of FRG's Republican Party, again boasted recently that West Germany's neofascists are sending "tonnes" of material to their supporters in the East.

Despite the fact that material and financial support for parties from abroad in the course of an election campaign is contrary to international custom (what would France and Britain say, for instance, if the FRG intervened in their parliamentary elections in this way?), the SED-PDS has shown magnanimity in its proposals on the future electoral law. In connection with the 6 May elections it expressed itself in favor of not banning support from the FRG and of giving an equal chance to the new parties. Subsequently, however, such intervention is to be regarded as impermissible.

Aside from the political parties, a number of civic movements have also sprung up in the GDR—movements which know what they want but which have so far not put forward any real positive program for extricating the country from its political crisis and overcoming existing difficulties in the economy. The biggest such movement is "New Forum," which, according to its spokesman, has 200,000 supporters.

The SED-PDS and other parties belonging to the government coalition, and also the new opposition parties and the social organizations and groups have created a permanently functioning informal organ—the "round-table"—which meets regularly.

To begin with it was assumed that it would advise the coalition government, cooperate with it in resolving existing problems, and monitor its activity. However, the several meetings that have been held have shown that the opposition is trying to place itself above the government. It is putting forward categorical demands and blocking the adoption of vital decisions. Specifically, and above all, decisions which relate to the sphere of national security which are assuming a particular hue in the face of multiplying neofascist outrages. Opposition parties and groups have rejected a proposal to join the coalition government.

A number of parties and public groups have already announced that they are setting up a unified electoral bloc with a view to jointly defeating the SED-PDS.

The quickening election struggle has shown that the opponents of the SED-PDS are prepared to use the most diverse means to achieve their aims. For instance, they have in recent days put forward the idea—which incidentally was immediately disseminated widely by Western television and the press—that the SED-PDS is allegedly trying to destroy the fruits of the "fall revolution" and return the country's political life back to the old channel, and seeks to prevent the opposition from

freely stating its viewpoint. This is being claimed despite the fact that the government has taken steps to provide the new parties and civic organizations with offices and transport facilities and that their stances are being reflected in television broadcasts and the GDR press.

In an effort to weaken the SED-PDS' potential, the opposition forces have raised the question of its allegedly illegal ownership of buildings, printing presses, and individual enterprises. One of the new parties has even said that this property should be confiscated through the courts. Clarifying its position, the leadership of the SED-PDS has pointed out that the party sees no reason to renounce what it owns on a legal basis and maintains with the help of party funds.

A period of difficult struggle has started for the SED-PDS. The crisis into which the policy of the former SED leadership has thrown the GDR is far from over. The party has lost approximately 900,000 members. Nonetheless, with a membership of 1.4 million it remains the key political force in the country. Having cast off the burden of the past at its extraordinary congress, it is now looking to the future.

The leaflet I mentioned at the beginning of my report is permeated with the spirit of intensive political work. The party's goal consists of preserving the state independence of the GDR and shouldering its responsibility in the people's representative bodies and in the government. The leaflet ends with the words: "It is a question of a strong new party. It is a question of our common future."

Daily Reports Bulgarian 'Roundtable' Talks

PM2201115990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
19 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Dispatch by own correspondent A. Kapralov: "Bulgaria: Not Enough Seats at 'Roundtable'"]

[Text] Sofia—"Roundtable" meetings between delegations of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BNAU], which shares power with the communists, and nonparty deputies on the one hand and the Union of Democratic Forces on the other are continuing in Sofia in the National Assembly building. During these meetings, as has already been reported, there will be a discussion of the question of creating a coalition government.

The Bulgarian Communists' line toward dialogue with all the country's sociopolitical forces was proclaimed at the Central Committee plenum in December 1989. It is a case of dialogue with those who advocate perestroika, glasnost, the democratization of society, free elections, and ecological safety irrespective of ideological views and religious and ethnic affinity.

The Union of Democratic Forces, which unites the Bulgarian Informal Organizations, has in a relatively short space of time won many supporters and gained authority. The Union of Democratic Forces includes 11

organizations, including the glasnost and democratization club, the "Podkrepa" alternative trade union, the society for the defense of human rights, the workers' social democratic party, the club of the repressed, and the radical democratic party.

And so dialogue has begun, but it nearly stopped short immediately. Union of Democratic Forces Chairman Z. Zhelev recalled that by the start of the work at the "roundtable" the union should already have had its own newspaper and administrative building in Sofia for the work of its coordination committee.

A. Lukanov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, who was in the chair, assured the Union of Democratic Forces representatives that the question of the publication of a daily newspaper in 50,000 copies has been resolved. The paper, which is in short supply in Bulgaria, has also been allocated. As for an administrative building, it will be specified by the capital's people's council in the immediate future.

This reply did not satisfy the Union of Democratic Forces representatives and they decided to consult with each other... Taking advantage of the pause, R. Karadimov, first secretary of the Communist Youth League Central Committee, read out an appeal containing a demand that communist youth league representatives be allowed to take an equal part in the dialogue. Otherwise, the document says, a serious obstacle will be created to the achievement of national consensus. Some 100,000 signatures throughout the country have been collected in support of the Communist Youth League demand.

In response a Union of Democratic Forces representative stated that there can be no third side in the "roundtable" talk. In Bulgaria, he said, the only organized opposition force is the Union of Democratic Forces and the "official authorities" take the place on the other side of the "roundtable."

Representatives of the provisional executive committee of independent Bulgarian trade union also came to the National Assembly. Committee member K. Andreev handed a protest to the leaders of the two political forces. It states in particular that the BCP is operating on the basis of old stereotypes and does not consider the new realities in the country. The position of the BCP and its ally, the BNAU, fails to take account of the existing political situation and the presence of trade unions representing the socioeconomic interests of millions of people. Forces independent of the BCP and the Union of Democratic Forces can should also find a place at the talks, the protest says.

"If someone imagined that he himself, without the participation of others, would make the Bulgarian people happy," K. Andreev writes in the newspaper TRUD, "then there will be a repetition of what happened yesterday. Then why have there been all the oaths of loyalty to democracy, tolerance, and respect for dissidents?"

And so the dialogue has started, albeit in a conflict situation. Talk has essentially not yet begun but there is an obvious desire on the part of those conducting the talks in the National Assembly and those who have been left to one side (perhaps only for the time being?) to begin to build a democratic rule-of-law state.

CPCZ's Mohorita Cited on Membership Losses

PM1901100190 Moscow *PRAVDA* in Russian
18 Jan 90 Second Edition p 6

[Unattributed report: "RUDE PRAVO"]

[Text] The newspaper RUDE PRAVO reports that Vasil Mohorita, first secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee, has delivered a speech at the CPCZ Central Committee Press Center noting that the party has recently been showing an interest in ensuring that development in the CSSR proceeds calmly and without confrontation.

The party is thereby part of the processes which have taken place and are taking place in the country—be they the restructuring of the Federal Assembly, the presidential elections, or whatever. This is how the party understands political pluralism.

With regard to the CPCZ current membership base, Mohorita reported that currently 130,000 members have left its ranks. In most cases these are people who joined the party for careerist reasons and are now fearful for their careers. It is expected that in the future the party will lose tens, if not hundreds, of thousands of members. But, at the same time, the party is gaining new members—including many young people—and they need help. It has been confirmed that First Deputy Premier Valtr Komarek has left the party.

Dwelling on questions of cutting the party apparatus, Mohorita reported that this will apply to approximately 8,000 people.

Mohorita Discusses Need for CPCZ Reform

LD2001044490 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 19 Jan 90

[S. Andreyev video report from Prague; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Andreyev] Today's Czech newspapers report about Marian Calfa, chairman of the Federal Government, leaving the Communist Party. The report is without comment, and we, too, will not guess the reasons. I will merely add that earlier, Komarek and Dlouhy, two of his deputy chairmen, handed back their party membership cards. It is possible that they have thereby gained something in some people's eyes. But I think that the party has not gained any extra prestige as a result of these steps.

However, the confidence of the people is what the party needs, and particularly now when the entire road that the

country has traversed in the past 40 years is being rejected, and when such monuments to Gottwald that have been prepared for removal stand in the cities as an accusation against the communists. [video shows correspondent standing in a square where a Gottwald statue has its head covered in a sack]

The party today is in crisis. In order to get out of the crisis, it must change, and these changes are evident even when one approaches the building of the Central Committee. Here you no longer will see black Tatra [limousines] and staff of the service of public security do not meet you next to the entrance. The apparatus of the Party has been cut by more than three-fourths; in the corridors there are not many people. And the building itself will soon be vacated; the Central Committee will move to more modest premises. [video shows dimly lit interior of Central Committee building]

[V. Mohorita, first secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, in Czech with superimposed Russian translation] We want to make a clear, honest, humble policy. We want to clearly prove that we are not talking about some kind of general and absolute power which we would like to achieve, about such a leading role as used to exist. We want to develop political competition, in which all political parties will participate, in order to take part in the actual development of a pluralist democracy in Czechoslovak, just like the other parties, of which today there are very many. That is to say that all this means to demonstrate to people by specific deeds, by new people, by new approaches, by a radical reduction in the apparatus and in the expenditure of the Party, by leaving gigantic, monumental buildings of Party secretariats which were constructed in the districts and cost large amounts of money, to demonstrate to people by all these measures that this is a new Party, and not only in words but also in deeds. [video shows Mohorita talking to Andreyev in an office]

PRAVDA Editor Interviewed on CSSR Experiences

AU1812141989 Prague *RUDE PRAVO*
in Czech 6 Dec 89 p 7

[Report on interview with Ivan Frolov, editor-in-chief of the Soviet daily PRAVDA, by Zdenek Porybny in Moscow, date not given: "Apropos Czechoslovak Experiences and the Need For Party Renewal"]

[Excerpts] Sixty year old Ivan Frolov has been editor-in-chief of the Soviet daily PRAVDA since September. He is a philosopher, a thinker, a practitioner, and also a specialist on Czechoslovakia, a country which he considers to be his second home. What does he think about the breakneck development in our country and what lessons is he drawing from this for his own country. [passage omitted]

[Porybny] Are you drawing any conclusions from development in Czechoslovakia for your own country and party?

[Frolov] I would not like to make any comparisons on the spot because I am mainly concentrating on what is happening in my own country; but, naturally, I cannot fail to contemplate events in your country. After all, I spent many years in Czechoslovakia and your country is my second home. The first conclusion—which I am drawing for myself—is that processes which should have occurred gradually and much sooner have taken place in your country at great speed. From the point of view of what I am seeing now in Czechoslovakia, I am following development in my country with a sense of great urgency. Next October we will have a CPSU congress and until that time our party must go through a profound process of changes in order to boost its position as the vanguard force in society. If this process does not take place on a broad scale, I see danger for our country.

If the party becomes a brake on development, as happened in your country, then, of course, problems will arise. We are drawing lessons from your experiences.

[Porybny] Our party and society are reevaluating their recent history, primarily, 1968. We are seeking new solutions to old problems and each piece of advice is welcome. Do you have any?

[Frolov] I think the main thing is to amalgamate those forces in society—workers, farmers, and the intelligentsia—which could freely unite themselves around the socialist ideal, but a socialist ideal with new, humanistic, and democratic contents. This is an ambitious task all the more because in a number of cases it will be necessary to start from scratch.

It is also necessary to bear in mind your country's historical experiences. I have in mind, first and foremost, 1968. I think it is necessary to turn to all of this and extract everything possible from this huge well of knowledge.

Certainly, you have a very complicated situation but it would be a mistake to start panicking now. I think that when the party persistently and in an innovative manner regains its political position, it will be successful in renewing itself and its avant garde role.

[Porybny] You spoke about lessons from the Czechoslovak crisis. Do you think there is a danger that the CPSU will find itself cut off from the people?

[Frolov] Such a danger always exists as a theoretical possibility, but everything depends on the party itself. The party began restructuring, Mikhail Gorbachev stands at its head, and the party leadership has openly stated that the processes of renewal taking place in the party are lingering behind the processes of renewal taking place in society.

This brings me back to what we were talking about earlier. If we have party workers in our country who are completely deaf to what is going on around them and who insist that everything is normal and that it is enough to merely suppress some of these extremists a little and

everything will be in order, then this is a very stupid position and it is necessary to draw conclusions from it. To this effect, the party's main line is to more energetically instigate its renewal. [passage omitted]

Soviet Troops in CSSR Found Causing Pollution

AU1901083690 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
16 Jan 90 p 2

[Milan Berta report: "We Await an Official Statement; Crude Oil Derivatives Threatening Sliac and Kovacova"]

[Summary] "Part of the Slovak National Uprising Airport in Sliac serves the needs of the Czechoslovak Airlines [CSA], which provides amenities for air transport within the state; another part serves the needs of the Soviet Army. And it is precisely in this second part of the airport that the situation can be said to be permanently precarious."

For years staff at the Slovak Water Economy Inspectorate in Banska Bystrica have been warning that the overflow of crude oil derivatives from the airport stores and the amounts of these substances that escape during handling represent a great threat to the Sliac and Kovacova health resorts, since they not only cause air pollution, but also seep underground. During three quarters of last year, 6,900 liters of crude oil derivatives were extracted from a single area of the airport, and the seepage to date is estimated at several hundred thousand liters. As far back as 1983, the inspectorate declared the situation in this area "permanently precarious."

"While no mistakes have been found in the handling of crude oil derivatives in the part operated by the CSA, far too many have been found in the part serving the Soviet Army." That is why a working group has been set up to rectify this adverse situation. At its first session on 16 November 1989, the group was told that "the intergovernmental treaties of 1968-69 contain no provisions for ecology. For this reason, neither penalties nor other measures can be imposed on the Soviet side. Only a mutual agreement could help in this serious situation; however, an agreement on equipment maintenance would also be a help."

"The Central Slovak Regional National Committee has asked the Office of the CSSR Government Plenipotentiary for the Affairs of the Temporary Stay of Soviet Troops in the CSSR for an official statement," containing instructions on how to proceed if the Soviet Army is found to be neglecting its duties in the field of water economy, and who is to be penalized and made responsible for rectifying the situation.

Air Force Unit To Leave Hungary 'This Year'

LD1901173990 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1606 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, 19 Jan (TASS)—As a first step in implementing the withdrawal of Soviet military subunits from the territory of Hungary, an Air Force subunit stationed near the town of Debrecen will leave that country. The character of the airfield will also change before the end of this year. This was stated by Colonel-General M.P. Burlakov, commander of the Southern Group of Forces, at a meeting with the town's leaders.

F. Debreceni, chairman of the town council, stated at a news conference that the airfield will be used for civilian purposes, as proposed by the public. The Hungarian side has asked the commander of the Southern Group of Forces to give Hungarian aircraft the opportunity to perform test flights even before the complete withdrawal of the Soviet Air Force sub-unit.

It was also stated that an accord has been reached on the handover to the town of two areas of land presently occupied by a Soviet motor rifle unit.

Soviet-Hungarian Seminar Views Economic Models

PM1901091990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
17 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 5

[M. Berger report under the "World and Us" rubric: "The Economics of the Transitional Period. Soviet-Hungarian Seminar on Problems of Combating Crisis Phenomena"]

[Text] A meeting of Soviet and Hungarian economists on the problem "Crisis Phenomena in the Economic Reform Period and Ways To Overcome Them," organized by the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission on Economic Reform, was held in Moscow last week.

Can the fact that we are switching from exchanging experience of our successes in socialist building to exchanging problems and the practice of existing in crisis conditions be considered natural? Proceeding from the state of our countries' economies and also from the fact that a number of East European states, according to preliminary data, ended last year with negative growth rates for industrial output and proceeding from the current state of CEMA, this question should most likely be answered in the affirmative. Our country, admittedly, does not formally rank among the series of East European negative growth rates—according to calculations, our rate of growth was plus 1.7% by 1988—but, first, there is hardly anyone who believes that things went better in our country last year than the year before and, second, if you take real inflation into consideration, we will also only obtain "negative success."

For the record: The United States ended last year with a growth rate of plus 3%, while this figure amounted to 3.5%-4% for the FRG and France.

In his speech at the meeting, Academician S. Shatalin raised the following question in a most trenchant fashion: Can the crisis be overcome in principle within the framework of the existing sociopolitical system? If we do not answer this "supreme question," as the academician described it, we will be constantly playing hide-and-seek and guessing games. Even Hungary, which is freer from the Stalinist "legacy" but which has not made up its mind to make radical transformations, has confidently moved toward and reached a crisis. Admittedly, as Stanislav Sergeyevich noted, if we had in our stores what Hungarians have in theirs in an economic crisis, we would probably consider this a major success for our reform.

It is clear on the whole without this gloomy joke that no two crises are alike, although many problems are similar, as is their nature; only the level and degree of gravity is different. For instance, we and Hungary are worried by the problem of foreign debt. But their debt is roughly 15 times higher per capita than ours. Of course, the large size of our population is not automatically translated into larger hard-currency reserves, but we are not at any rate faced with such an acute foreign debt problem.

The rates of inflation are also higher in Hungary. Last year they totaled approximately 18%. In our country this figure is, according to preliminary estimates, approximately 11%. It is appropriate to note that the depreciation of money virtually entirely gobbles up the approximately 12-percent increase in monetary income among our country's population. As a result the odds in favor of a real increase in income are negligible, just as financial officials' complaints that people are allegedly hoarding "excess" money are not quite correct.

Hungary's growth rate for industrial production was minus 2% last year. But, unlike our stagnation, reduced rates of economic growth are part of a state program for switching to a market economy. In a country where a market economy has officially been developing for more than 20 years (admittedly, with varying activeness at various times and thus with varying success) people realize that structural restructuring cannot be implemented with high rates of growth.

In response to Academician Shatalin's "supreme" question—can we escape from the crisis under the current system—M. Pullai, deputy chairman of the Hungarian State Commission on Economic Reform, said that they have concluded that both the economic and the political system must be replaced. They are proceeding on the premise that it is not only the economy but also society that is in profound crisis. M. Pullai described the attempts to invent a special "socialist market" as an infantile ailment. Markets are markets and so radical reform and privatization [razgosudarstvleniye] of ownership are what is needed.

Ownership must be "personified," rather than having a phantom owner in the shape of the state. Of course, the limits of private ownership and spheres where it cannot

exist have been determined. Admittedly, these limits are gradually expanding and authorization has been given today, for instance, to have up to 500 hired workers.

We drew the conclusion, M. Pullai said, that if we are really gearing ourselves to a market in earnest, we must reduce all restrictions to a minimum. Neither the party nor the government should be of crucial significance in business life. We have been told that we will thus be creating our own Onassis and Rockefeller. Our response is that if a Rockefeller appears anywhere in Hungary, let those people who live to see it deal with it.

The Hungarian translator made a curious mistake. He described the deregulation program as a program of economic antimanagement. Everyone of course realized that he was talking about decentralization, privatization of ownership, and other restrictions on state economic activity.

We also seem to be advocating economic independence, a kind of deregulation. Last year most resolute steps were taken: 25 ministries were abolished or amalgamated. Was there a bigger market? No, because we say that we cannot abandon centralized management and a market has not as yet been created. But how can it be created while administrative organs of economic management operate with might and main (everywhere)?

The idea that the ministerial method of production is everlasting is so firmly entrenched in our country that the Ministry of Finance tackles financial recovery in our country, while the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply [Gossnab] is engaged in creating a wholesale market in means of production, and the State Planning Committee [Gosplan] is engaged in elaborating new planning methods. The approach seems to be: You messed things up, so you sort things out. But will the same Gossnab be concerned about creating a wholesale market that renders its founders' existence pointless? Will the Gosplan help form a self-regulating economic system that deprives the planners of full undisputed economic power? The answer seems clear, but it is not for nothing that the song says that we are born to make fairy stories come true, and we are so lacking in doubt that the impossible is possible that we instruct ministries to combat monopolism by their own enterprises (that is, themselves). This peak of administrative wisdom is enshrined in the Law on the State Enterprise.

The only thing that we are thus guaranteeing is the transformation of the administrative fairy tale into administrative reality and inexhaustible grounds for our own confusion: Why is reform not making headway?..

In Hungary they chose a somewhat different means for building a market and getting through the transitional periods. All sector ministries were eliminated overnight, leaving one ministry of industry. Compromises were made here—they did not begin to drastically cut back the apparatus so as to avoid creating an army of qualified

well-organized opponents to the reform. Today, admittedly, Hungarian specialists do not hold an unequivocal position as to whether or not this compromise has facilitated the reform.

The point is that, while deprived of the right to interfere in enterprises' economic activity, the administrative apparatus reserved itself one area of jurisdiction—the appointment and dismissal of leaders and provision of incentives for and penalties against them. This function alone was enough for them to virtually retain all control over independent enterprises. Hence the current government program of economic "antimanagement" and deregulation.

There has been no attempt in Hungary, as in our country, to instruct monopolists to combat monopolism. A Law on Competition, restricting the state's opportunities to curb competitive struggle on the market, has already been prepared for discussion in parliament. This legal act, which will be discussed in February, develops the 1984 Law on Dishonest Profit, which laid the foundations for free competition but proved inadequate to ensure clean competition.

The new draft law is made up of three main sections. The first makes provision for a ban on hoarding commodities, abusing trademarks, and misleading the customer. The second prohibits price deals and restriction of competition. The third prohibits abuse of economic power—that is, it undermines the positions of absolute monopolists' superpowerful enterprises, of which there are plenty in any planned economy.

It is also planned to create a body to safeguard competition—to succeed the Price Committee.

If the draft law is approved, it will enter into force as of 1 July.

Hungarian specialists stressed that the main incentive for economic development is not tax regulation, on which Soviet colleagues were so keen, but free competition.

Our specialists noted in response to this that economic freedom may not bring about civilized competition but "Sicilian" competition, that is mafia and group struggle. However, in the opinion of Hungarian specialists, privatization and well thought-out antimonopoly legislation will ensure civilized competition.

It is hard in a short commentary to set out the main ideas put forward during a 2-day discussion. Clearly, despite the similarity of the situations in our countries, there are many considerable differences, so there can be no common cure-all. It is also clear that these exchanges of opinions and "crisis experience" are useful and necessary.

Without doubt the fact that it is people who will judge the correctness and effectiveness of the chosen economic policy is common to both sides. This assessment, as a Soviet participant in the meeting noted, will be what is

obtained when the results achieved are correlated with government programs and promises. This "political-economic equation" is international.

Polish Government Spokesman Cited on Troops

*LD1901214490 Moscow TASS in English 2136 GMT
19 Jan 90*

[Text] Warsaw January 19 TASS—We do not put the question about the Soviet troops presence on Polish territory, Polish Government spokesman Malgorzata Nezabitowska told a news conference here today.

Clarifying the attitude of the Mazowiecki cabinet towards the demand of Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa that the Soviet troops be withdrawn by the end of 1990, which he made on Thursday after meeting the Soviet ambassador, she said that this is Mr Walesa's personal opinion.

She also stressed that, as a member of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, Poland intends to fulfil all conditions of this purely defensive treaty.

Romania's Roman Lists Main Government Tasks

*PM1901162390 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 19 Jan 90 First Edition p 3*

[TASS report: "Romania: Main Tasks"]

[Text] Bucharest 17 Jan—The main task facing the government is the choice of leadership cadres. We have demanded that young people everywhere get involved in leadership, stated Romanian Prime Minister P. Roman in an interview given to the newspaper ADEVARUL.

Answering a question about why the government favors the retention of the existing production and management structures, Roman observed that this is in accordance with the interests of the economy. The management structures have to be retained, but this does not mean that the ministries and departments will continue to deprive production collectives of initiative and dictate their will to them. Ideas on decentralization and on the autonomy of enterprises have already received extensive support and diffusion.

Speaking about the measures which the government is taking to normalize electricity supplies to domestic and industrial consumers, Roman noted that its consumption had doubled recently. Minimal norms for electricity consumption have been set for ministries and departments, and everything is being done to meet the population's requirements.

Romanian Premier on Cooperation With USSR

*LD2201101290 Moscow TASS in English 0942 GMT
22 Jan 90*

[Text] Tokyo January 22 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladimir Solntsev:

Romania's cooperation with the Soviet Union has lately become broader, Romania's prime minister Petre Roman said in an interview with the Japanese ASAHI newspaper, published today.

"We shall build cooperative relations with every country in the world," he said.

Romania's new leadership is carrying out economic reforms and is seeking decentralisation. It wants enterprises, ministries and departments to take independent decisions in a number of areas.

"Since the dictator acted at will, the economy is now in a poor plight," Roman said. Much time will be required to carry out economic reforms, he believes. A ban on Romanian food exports will remain in effect until conditions in the country change for the better, he noted.

Touching upon the planned free elections next April, the prime minister said that their programme "was basically determined by the people who met on Revolution Square on December 22. We should follow the programme we promised to fulfil. But recently formed political parties believe that there is not enough time to prepare for elections and that we should take their demands into account," he said.

Romanian National Peasant Party Head Cited

*PM1901161590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 Jan 90 Second Edition p 5*

[Article by special correspondents V. Vedralshko, Ye. Spekhov, and A. Sharyy: "Shape of Change: Reportage From a Political Party's Headquarters"]

[Text] Bucharest, 17 Jan—The dark-red badge bears the gold letters of "perestroika" and in the corner there is a hammer and sickle with a star.

"Thank you," smiled Coposu, and he put the badge in his pocket. "Can I wear it?"

"Of course, if you aren't bothered about the hammer and sickle."

"I'm not," he replied seriously. "Such are the times: We need both the hammer and the sickle."

Corneliu Coposu, who spent 18 years in prison, has no sympathies with the regime overthrown by the revolution, of course. But he has learned from experience, which suggests to him that life is like that, unfortunately: Even great ideals are debased when borne on the banners of highbinders.

"We want to compete openly with all political forces in the country," Corneliu said. "Our party believes that democracy is the basis of normal social life."

The party headed by Corneliu Coposu—the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party—resumed its activity 22 December last, the day of the dictator's downfall in Romania.

"Our party has been proscribed five times in its history," Coposu explains, "the last time in 1949. Forty years have passed—a great gulf. But now whole families are coming to us..."

The National Peasant Party was first to register 8 January. During the years of the dictatorship the party existed underground. In 1987 it joined the International Democratic Union. That is why the words Christian democratic now stand alongside the old name expressing the content of the party's ideology.

"I shall try briefly to describe our program," Corneliu Coposu said. "As a peasant party we support the transfer of the land to peasant ownership. Land holdings may be 3 or 6 hectares, depending on natural conditions and the criterion of profitability. That is, a family may own that area which can be worked for the benefit of the state, too, and on which it can feed itself with plenty to spare. We favor long-term credit—up to 30 years—to enable peasants to obtain the machinery and equipment they need. Peasants can also join together in associations.

"In the industrial sphere we consider it necessary to retain state ownership of only those large enterprises which deal directly with state orders. The remaining plants and factories should be gradually transferred to private ownership."

"What is your party's social base?"

"Primarily the peasantry. We are also hoping for the support of the workers because a considerable proportion of them have moved to the city from the countryside. If our organizational work is successful we can expect around 3 million people to join the party. If we prepare for the elections properly we hope for the support of about 60% of the electorate."

"Does that mean you are hoping to become the most influential party in the country? Incidentally, the Western press maintains that the National Peasant Party already represents a serious alternative to the National Salvation Front in the power struggle."

"We are confident that we shall be the strongest party in Romania. As for rivalry with the Front, that is not an issue, because the National Salvation Front is an interim, nonparty organization and we simply cannot be rivals. Incidentally, we immediately declared our full support for the Front's program. Admittedly, there are reservations now."

"Such as?"

"We categorically oppose the decision to ban the Communist Party and clearly told the National Salvation Front Council so."

"It was our impression that had the Front not taken that decision during the 12 January demonstrations that would have been its last day in power."

"The fact is that the Romanian people—the young in particular—have recently become somewhat accustomed to playing at revolution. The agitation and emotions are snowballing. Our party's leadership has done everything possible to ensure that the young people who support our program did not take part in the demonstration. Although at this stage we see our main task in supporting the National Salvation Front, so that the country's leadership can lay the foundations of the new state structures, we also consider the decision to ban the Communist Party antidemocratic.

"On the whole I think the Front's role today is very important and its downfall would be another national catastrophe for Romania."

"How do you see the future of Soviet-Romanian relations?"

"First I want to say that our party is grateful to the Soviet Union for supporting the Romanian revolution. We favor the all-around development of cooperation with the USSR, and this is one of the main aspects of our foreign policy program. True to the historical traditions of Romanian foreign policy, we consider the postwar borders of Europe to be indestructible, and we hold the opinion that it is necessary to follow precisely the provisions of our international commitments and documents connected with the implementation of human rights, including respect for the right of freedom of conscience."

"How do your relations with the church stand?"

"During the years of the dictatorship the Romanian church leadership compromised itself. Our Christian ideas apply therefore not to the Romanian church's past but to its future. The party's ideology is rooted in the principles of Christian morality and its humanist values. And those values are closely linked with the national cultural legacy. I believe, by the way, that this is another opportunity to broaden contacts with your country."

Corneliu Coposu is far from young but he took a direct part in the December events. Nevertheless, he believes, the present changes became possible primarily thanks to the courage of the young, who triumphed in the battle against the dictatorship. With good reason the changes which took place in the country are called the "revolution of the young," and those young people have in many ways "outgrown" their parents, though not all of them. Corneliu Coposu's gray hair is not just due to his age. Of the 18 years he spent in jail, 10 were in solitary confinement.

But let us return to the present.

"We did not expect such a rapid influx of supporters," Coposu said. "In the first 10 days after legalization 26,000 people in Bucharest alone expressed a desire to join the National Peasant Party. Now the party's activity has been resumed in all districts of the country and the process of forming organizations in the countryside is underway."

"What happens if a former member of the Romanian Communist Party expresses a wish to become a member of your party?"

"Our doors are open. Many people joined the Romanian Communist Party in the past through compulsion and pressure of circumstances. We reject only those who sullied themselves by links with the dictator's regime. We believe that each person is now free to decide his political sympathies for himself. The most diverse parties, including the Communist Party, should operate in the country. But it must not be forgotten here that the strength of any nation is in unity."

...There were several people in the reception room filling out application forms to join the National Peasant Party.

The country's political landscape is changing.

West Europe

EC Ministers Support Gorbachev's CSCE Call

LD2101102690 Moscow TASS in English 0925 GMT
21 Jan 90

[Text] Dublin January 21 TASS—European Community foreign ministers who convened for a special meeting here, decided to support the initiative set forth by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev to call a Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in 1990.

In a statement on the meeting results, Irish Foreign Ministry Gerry Collins stressed that the CSCE Helsinki process has proved its fruitfulness. As a result, Europe has achieved great successes in detente, arms cuts and human rights.

It is high time now to call a new summit meeting of 33 European countries, the United States and Canada to discuss radical changes in Europe and to determine its future, he said.

The meeting mapped out ways for the development of trade, economic, scientific and technical cooperation with East European countries on the basis of signed bilateral agreements as well as within the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, joint programmes for training and retraining of specialists.

FRG 'Interference' in GDR Affairs Hit

PM1801093590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 14 Jan 90 First Edition p 3

[Commentary by TASS commentator A. Balebanov:
"The GDR Rejects Interference"]

[Text] The greater and faster the process of transformations in the GDR, the more open the attempts by certain FRG circles to interfere in this country's internal affairs. It is noteworthy that these actions, inadmissible in interstate relations, were activated from the moment when restructuring in the GDR started to show its first

perceptible results and have a beneficial effect on the growth of the authority of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism in the country.

But what other than interference can we call the statements made by A. Dregger, chairman of the Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union faction in the Bundestag, who went so far as to start making demands that elections be held in the GDR... under the auspices of the United Nations. Why should a sovereign state like the GDR have to hold its own elections "under supervision?"

Some FRG politicians are going even further and taking the liberty of openly supporting various demands put forward by the opposition in the GDR. In particular, they especially liked the opposition's ultimatum about the dissolution of the GDR national security department. A whole campaign has been launched on this subject in the West German press. But the initiators of this unseemly "solidarity campaign" are forgetting just one thing—perhaps even the most important thing: There is not a single country in the world, including the FRG, that does not have a service whose tasks include the protection of national security.

Some of the present FRG chancellor's views cannot fail to be assessed as interference in the GDR's affairs. In a recent address, according to BBC reports, he accused the GDR Government of allegedly "doing little to restore the people's confidence," and needing to "have a fairer attitude toward the opposition." Is such moralizing appropriate in relations with another country's government?

Judging by a government statement which H. Modrow, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, made in the People's Chamber, Berlin will not tolerate violations of its sovereignty.

It can only be hoped that Bonn reacts with the greatest responsibility to the words of the GDR head of government.

Government Delegation Concludes Visit to France

LD2001162890 Moscow TASS in English 1546 GMT
20 Jan 90

[Text] Paris January 20 TASS—By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Krivykh:

A Soviet government delegation led by Soviet First Deputy Prime Minister Lev Voronin completed its visit to France today.

The delegation held talks with French Prime Minister Michel Rocard, Minister of State for the Economy, Finance and the Budget Pierre Bergevoy, Minister of the Interior Pierre Joxe and Minister of Agriculture and Forestry Henri Nallet.

They discussed and approved measures to further extend relations between the two countries and signed a Soviet-French agreement on economic, industrial, scientific and technological cooperation.

The delegation also visited plants of several French firms, including Tomson, Electronique Serge Dassault, ELF Aquitaine and held talks with businessmen.

Voronin Interviewed

LD2101103990

[Editorial report] Moscow Television Service at 1800 GMT on 20 January in its "Vremya" newscast, carries a video report by S. Iyezuitov on L.A. Voronin's visit to France.

The presenter says: "A Soviet Government delegation led by Comrade Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, ended its visit to France today."

S. Iyezuitov says that the delegation had many talks and meetings during which the expansion of Soviet-French economic and agricultural cooperation was discussed. The video shows official scenes and signing of documents.

Iyezuitov then states: "As has been reported, a few days ago a bank was set up to give help to the countries of Eastern Europe. Investments in the Soviet Union are also envisaged. Where will they be directed to? A clip of the news conference:

"[Begin recording] [Voronin] We would like to concentrate the resources and attention of this bank first and foremost on issues of social development. (?Second), of course, to concentrate investments on the question of developing enterprises which ensure the economic potential of the others, by means of the development of the latest technology and equipment. [video shows Voronin addressing news conference] [end recording]"

Iyezuitov then shows a clip of a visit to a Peugeot factory, and plays an interview with Voronin on the shop floor:

"[Begin recording] [Voronin] The aim of this visit is to speed up talks about the creation of a joint enterprise in our country to produce the very new, the most modern model of the Peugeot 605. I must say that our talks today are going successfully. The Peugeot firm is being very helpful, and is interested in setting up and organizing production of this model in our country.

"[Iyezuitov] How long a time scale are we talking about? Probably 5 or 6 years? Or sooner?

"[Voronin] We talked to the general director today. If the work is organized correctly, he said that it would be possible to organize the output of the first cars in our country within 3 years. [end recording]"

The presenter comments that foreign firms have every justification for being wary about investing in the USSR, recalling an item in "Vremya" on 18 January about the problems faced by an FRG entrepreneur who made a contract with a Moscow firm to produce racing cars and now faces bankruptcy. The Moscow enterprise has

phoned to admit that the criticism is correct and to say that they are doing their best to solve the problem.

French Investment to Increase

LD2001220190 Moscow TASS in English 1935 GMT
20 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 20 TASS—France ranks second after the Federal Republic of Germany in the scope of investments in the Soviet economy. Lev Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, believes that France may take the lead in this respect in the coming months.

"Through its capital France actively participates in the development of our economy," he told IZVESTIYA newspaper. "I hope that 1990 will become a turning point. For example, the USSR Ministry of the Automobile Industry intends to conclude a contract with Peugeot to set up co-production of 160,000 newest Peugeot-605 cars a year.

"That will be a huge enterprise and the French will invest their capital. Besides, the Thompson Company continues to work with our enterprises to establish the production of household equipment and is prepared to invest large funds in the construction of such plants".

Over the past two years, trade and economic relations between the Soviet Union and France have been developing positively and trade turnover has been growing, Voronin said.

In 1989 work to establish joint ventures began to produce positive results. Last year alone, more than 30 ventures were formed. They include, in particular, a large enterprise set up by the USSR Ministry of Communications and Tomson firm to turn out 600,000 colour television sets every year, he said.

The USSR Ministry of Metallurgy and Pechiney firm agreed to build a plant to produce packaging materials on the basis of thin alloys.

The first deputy premier expects a considerable increase in the number of Soviet-French ventures in 1990 to supply the Soviet market with consumer goods—refrigerators, television sets, gas ranges, and furniture.

Adamishin Meets Italian Foreign Minister

LD2101184390 Moscow TASS in English 1818 GMT
21 Jan 90

[Text] Rome January 21 TASS—Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis met Anatoliy Adamishin, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, in Venice on January 19.

The state of affairs in Europe and bilateral Soviet-Italian relations were touched upon during the meeting.

Adamishin Meets Vatican Foreign Minister

LD2101220290 Moscow TASS in English 1819 GMT
21 Jan 90

[Text] Rome January 21 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin met Vatican Foreign Minister Angelo Sodano today.

Matters of mutual interest were considered during the meeting.

Spanish Communist Cited on Topicality of Marxism

PM1801150390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
15 Jan 90 Second Edition p 1

[Own correspondent V. Volkov dispatch: "Topical Teaching"]

[Text] Madrid, 14 Jan—Despite the dramatic events which we have been witnessing recently in East European countries, I continue to believe that the 1917 revolution in Russia was necessary, Julio Anguita, secretary general of the Spanish Communist Party, has declared in an interview in the newspaper EL PAIS.

If we make a serious analysis of the situation in Russia at that time, we will arrive at the clear conclusion that it was the only correct step, he emphasized.

Asked how to rectify the mistakes made by the former leaders of Europe's socialist countries, J. Anguita replied: "As the USSR's experience shows, it involves above all the holding of democratic elections and democratic planning of the economy, which must be combined with recognition of the admissibility of the existence of different political forces and freedom of speech. Regarding the intentions of certain communist parties to change their names by dropping the word 'communist,' if this path is taken there will be nothing sacred left in life: The Catholic Church should long ago have changed its name just because it would be 'branded' forever by the somber epoch of the inquisition, and the capitalist system should burn with shame because it is precisely thanks to it that we are witnessing famine in entire regions of the planet."

"Why should we change our party's name if we are capable of answering the questions that arise in the country? We are a constituent part of the 'United Left' coalition. And when we are told that in the event of a change in the Communist Party's name the 'United Left' could achieve still greater success, then we know that what really lies behind this is, above all, a desire that we abandon Marxism. But Marxism remains a topical teaching for us. The name of the Spanish Communist Party is covered with eternal glory, and we have no intention of changing its name," J. Anguita said in conclusion.

BBC Coverage of Transcaucasus Problems Hit

LD1901214690 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] This country gives much credit to the British leadership's attitude towards perestroika and the Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher's support for the reforms underway in this country. Perestroika is a complex process, problematic in many ways. One of the problems now is the situation in Transcaucasia being focused on in this country and abroad. This situation naturally gives rise for anxiety, since the blood of innocent people has been shed. In covering events in Transcaucasia Soviet media have been trying to be [word indistinct] tactful as possible, because any careless remark may trigger off an explosive reaction, fraught with more violence in and around Nagorno-Karabakh. Regrettable it looks as if the Russian Service of the BBC has been disregarding this factor lately. Here is a commentary:

The Soviet leadership has been doing all it can to prevent the escalation of the conflict between Azerbaijanians [as heard] and Armenians. Meanwhile, the Russian Service of the BBC in one of its broadcasts on 18 January referred to the conflict a priori as an Azerbaijan-Armenian war. Of course, appeals to media to display restraint may be interpreted as a violation of the right to the free transmission of information; but in this case such interpretation is improper.

In the situation in and around Nagorno-Karabakh restraint is crucial to saving people. For one can predetermine how Azerbaijanians might react to a statement by one of their representatives in an interview that in his view Moscow's attitude towards Azerbaijanians is worse than towards Armenians. What may be the result of this story by an Armenian in one of the programs of the Russian Service of the BBC on 17 January that a war was underway and the stronger side would prevail, since Moscow allegedly removed itself from efforts to settle the conflict? The interview ended with a question, what Armenia was going to do next? The answer was it should prepare.

Maybe that Armenian representative really feels that arms should be taken up. But what the Azerbaijanians will do after listening to the program? There can be no two answers. But there are other questions. One thinks that British listeners would hardly like Radio Moscow British service programs with calls for IRA militants or protestant extremists to take up arms to destroy representatives of the other side. And, in fact, similar calls were made in the program of the Russian Service of the BBC, which incidentally keeps itself going at the British taxpayer's expense.

We may recall that in Britain itself there is a ban for media to refer to statements by militants from various Ulster factions. Certainly people must know the truth, but it's hardly reasonable to interview those who call for violence escalation [as heard]. Ethics and common sense must prompt this, otherwise such programs can be construed as actions planned in advance.

Political & Social

Gorbachev Speaks at All-Union Conference

PRAVDA Version of Opening Address

PM1901160190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
19 Jan 90 Second Edition pp 1-2

[PRAVDA version of TASS report on M.S. Gorbachev address to All-Union Conference of Representatives of the Working Class, Peasantry, and Engineering and Technical Workers in Moscow 18 January: "M.S. Gorbachev's Opening Address"]

[Text] Dear Comrades! In opening the all-union conference of representatives of the working class, peasantry, and engineering and technical workers I want first to welcome you to this meeting, which is being held on the decision of the party Central Committee, and through you welcome the working people of our country.

We attach great significance to this conference—in view of both its representative character, and its timing, and the tasks of perestroika and the renewal of our society that are being resolved today.

We want to hear your opinion, your views on the urgent questions and problems. Perestroika has entered a difficult and, I would say, crucial phase in its development. The rallies are behind us now—to some extent, although they do still occur—and the debates on the policy of perestroika and its main aims are behind us, too. We have approached a very important stage in the practical realization of this policy.

Perestroika is becoming broader and deeper and embracing all strata of the society of our vast country and all spheres of life. Since it is a question of deep and fundamental changes, without which the renewal of society cannot take place and a new quality of its functioning and organization cannot be achieved, this process is acquiring acute forms, too. You all feel that, we all feel it. We are participants in the decisive clash between the old and the new, between different positions, opinions, and of course interests. People want to examine the present situation, understand its prospects, and understand what awaits us all tomorrow.

The question being asked is: Have we not made mistakes in the choice and direction of perestroika? And of course everyone wants to know when the positive changes will acquire a stable character and yield weighty results. All these are natural, vital questions because man here is made in such a way that he is interested not only in his own fate but also in the fate of the labor collective, the republic, the people, and the country as a whole.

What do I want to say in this regard ahead of today's discussion? We decided not to deliver a report but to devote the maximum time to you, especially since you have recently heard quite a few reports and speeches. Probably, it would be right to begin with your speeches

and ideas, which I hope you have brought here to the hall of the Great Kremlin Palace.

That is what I wanted to say in my opening address ahead of the discussion at this conference.

First of all I should like to stress once more that it is not someone else's inventions or subjective wishes, aspirations, or ambitions but life itself which led us to the ideas of radical perestroika. We need it. We simply cannot go on living as we have been living. We need perestroika in the same way that we need air. We need it to reveal the potential of our socialist system. We need it to make use of the enormous capital that we accumulated during the years of Soviet power. I have in mind both the scientific and technical potential and the entire intellectual potential of our society. I have in mind also the vast resources which must be used increasingly skillfully every day so as to ensure a worthy life for this generation and future generations. We have gained great experience of building social relations, and that must be also be considered and used so as to achieve a new understanding of our system, the people's system. Finally, I wanted to talk about the main issue. The departure point of the perestroika policy is still a concern for man. It is at the very center of the perestroika policy that we placed man, his life and concerns, interests and aspirations, and the confident future of new generations. Orienting and turning our whole economy, the political process, and spiritual development in that direction and taking people out of the state in which they found themselves through being divorced from the means of production, the work of the soviets, and participation in the country's management—that is the supreme question. This, of course, is a task of historic proportions. In other words, not only do we not reject the socialist choice—we want, through the renewal of society, to reveal the humane character of the socialist system. We want to achieve a humane and democratic society. A society with a dynamic economy, a high level of science and culture, and living conditions worthy of man.

That indeed is the formula and the main plan of perestroika. In this society that we are striving for, human rights must be firmly and reliably protected and, as I have said, all the conditions for a worthy life must be created.

The past 4 years of the current 5-year plan have been filled with great work, searches, and the adoption of difficult and important decisions which determine the fate of the state and the country not only for the immediate future but also for decades to come. They were filled with the first transformations in the economic, political, social, and spiritual spheres of society. As always the first steps are the hardest. They generate much thought and concern—legitimate concern, because it is our present and future destiny that are at stake.

Thanks to perestroika—we can state this now—an atmosphere of democracy and glasnost is being established in the country. The voice of the working class, the

peasantry, and the intelligentsia is being heard increasingly clearly and powerfully. Nevertheless, I think that you will have something to say on this score—on democracy, glasnost, its role, and how these processes are progressing. I think that you have something to say, and we are interested in ensuring that this information is presented here for the party Central Committee.

This is a difficult process but we need it, comrades. We must defend it—I mean the process of democratizing our society. Both against those who would like to halt it and against those who would like to use it for unseemly purposes. Both exist.

We have taken the path of deep reforms in the economy—and this has affected the relations of ownership and the forms of economic management and administration. The status of man in production is changing considerably, and this is a fundamental sphere of life. What our society will be like will depend crucially on how the changes in the economy proceed and what character they possess. That is what we are accustomed to calling the basis of society.

Perestroika has opened the way to deep socioeconomic transformations in all sectors of the national economy. Through the new forms of management and administration and the new system of incentives we want to combine working people's interests with the achievements of scientific and technical progress so as to achieve a new level of productivity. A labor productivity which was hardly rising at all on the eve of perestroika. But without increasing labor productivity based on the interest of the worker himself and on the use of scientific and technical progress there will be no new level of labor.

The first stage of the political reform has been completed, though not without difficulties and mistakes. It has been completed before your eyes. The highest echelon of the organs of people's power has been formed and the new USSR Supreme Soviet is gaining experience. The renewal of legislative acts is proceeding intensively and the legal preconditions are being created for the perestroika processes that have developed and the realization of major steps on the path of building a socialist rule-of-law state.

We are on the eve of the elections to the republic and local soviets, which will mark the further deepening of the political reform and will offer new opportunities for people's real participation in the management of the state. It is very important for us to hear what you think of this process, to which we attach tremendous significance. Fundamental changes in the position and role of the soviets can be accomplished both through their new functions and through the people who will be sent there. The people who sit in the Soviets will be the decisive force.

How is all this proceeding? You have just arrived from the localities; everything is unfolding right before you.

I would say that we are concerned. That concern has not yet diminished. It surfaced back during the past election campaign when we nominated and elected the USSR People's Deputies. We still have not eliminated those weaknesses in this process at the present stage either.

It is this year, Comrades, in the light of the forthcoming elections and the adoption of decisions on the demarcation of the powers of the union and republic organs and the law on local self-management, that the question of the transfer of power to the soviets will be considerably decided. It is with that aim that we have agreed at this early stage to create the necessary preconditions for the inclusion in the soviets of the strongest cadres in all parts of the country. Although some people want to interpret it differently, that is precisely why we have decided despite the difficulties to resolve the question of the pay for those workers, because it is two-thirds and sometimes even one-half that of production workers. Yet it is precisely from there that the most active, well educated, and competent people come. They must be in the soviets—not those people who aren't needed anywhere.

Perestroika has brought forth tumultuous transformation processes in the spiritual sphere. Here, as in other spheres of life, they are proceeding in a varied and, I would say, contradictory way. This gives rise to considerable worry and concern. But nevertheless, the main trend despite these snags can be seen here. It consists in the spiritual rebirth of society and in the formation of a new moral atmosphere on the basis of socialist common human values. It is this trend, the main healthy trend, which must be reinforced. And we must resolutely resist all the dross [pena] and everything which outsiders try to foist upon us to try and confuse the process of society's moral regeneration. We should have no qualms about calling a spade a spade here.

During the changes there is in progress essentially a process of crystallization and creation of those new forms of life which, we believe, determine the character of the renewed society. With the present socioeconomic tension we probably do not always notice the first real results of the changes. But they are there. That must also be seen, so that we do not despair and say that everything is collapsing. What is collapsing is the old way. It is a different matter when it involves the important and valuable things created by previous generations. That must be protected, and protected by our common efforts—nobody must be allowed to wreck that.

Our economy is being reoriented, though not without difficulties, toward the satisfaction of people's diverse needs. This is the decisive breakthrough which we must achieve. Of course, the inertia of our vast economy is such that a breakthrough takes time. I do not need to expand on that theme in this auditorium. After all, to reorient or modernize even one plant it is necessary to determine ways, seek out resources, consider everything, and then put into practice the plan that has been elaborated. Now let us think about such a vast socioeconomic

organism as the union economy—this needs not only tremendous efforts and time but also tremendous responsibility.

Nevertheless, structural improvements have begun. They are being carried out in favor of those sectors producing consumer goods and services, primarily in favor of the light and food industries and the agrarian complex. At present we are still not satisfied with the way that this is proceeding or the degree, so to speak, of the turn in that direction.

Machine-building sectors, the defense sector, and our science are currently being enlisted to solve the aforementioned tasks. Economic incentives are gradually being intensified for enterprises building up production of goods and services. The proportion of national income used for consumption purposes and nonproduction construction has now reached 83 percent, comrades. This figure was under 80 percent prior to the current 5-year plan.

During this 5-year plan more funds have been channeled into the construction of housing and cultural and welfare amenities. The average amount of these funds has risen by more than one-third. What does this mean, comrades? What effect has this had on us and our lives?

The mean annual volumes of housing construction have risen by 16 percent and in the past 4 years 11.3 million square meters of housing have been constructed over and above the set target. This represents approximately 200,000 additional new apartments. In the last 4 years more schools, polyclinics, and clubs have been commissioned than in the previous 5 years, that is, in 4 years we have already gained, as it were, 1 year. Moreover, in the countryside commissioning of housing has risen by 19 percent on average over the year, whereas commissioning of schools, preschool establishments, clubs, and cultural centers has risen by 26-59 percent and that of polyclinics by 100 percent.

The number of families now having plots in collective gardens—and there is a real boom here, so to speak—has virtually doubled! The sale of construction materials to the population has also roughly doubled, although you would probably say the following: It is still difficult to buy cement and bricks and virtually anything connected with lumber.

In noting these changes, we must think about how to increase them further and continue the very important trends which directly affect people's everyday lives. This is the first time in many years that consumer goods production has begun to outstrip the growth in the industry producing the means of production. This is very important for our economy in general, since it was geared in a different direction. Here is the result—in 1988 the volume of retail turnover rose by R25 billion and in 1989 it rose by another R37 billion. Previously these figures were somewhere in the region of R8-10 billion, and R15 billion maximum.

Soviet families have more socioconsumer durables: 70 and 30 percent more color televisions and tape recorders respectively. There are more automobiles, iceboxes, and so on. I am giving these figures and listing them, so to speak, "in kind" because the following opinion now exists (without prompting from our economists): Why are you giving the percentage increase in money terms? This increase is only down to a price hike. That is why I am giving indicators in physical terms, since this speaks for itself. I also want to give indicators—in physical terms!—which relate to food goods.

In 1985 9.6 million tonnes of meat were produced from state raw material resources. In 1989 11.4 million tonnes of meat were produced—that is, an increase of 1.8 million tonnes. Not livestock but meat. Correspondingly, in 1988 and 1989 respectively 1.5 million tonnes and 1.7 million tonnes of animal fat were produced. The figures for whole-milk products are 29.5 and 33.8 million tonnes respectively. For granulated sugar produced from sugar beet they are 7.6 and 8.8 million tonnes respectively. Even taking the increase in our country's population into consideration this has all enabled us to increase per capita consumption. The same also applies to many types of light industry products.

Thus, you probably already have a question. I know that you came here with a question. We are also asking ourselves the same question and trying to get to the bottom of it: What is the cause of the socioeconomic tension in society? At this conference let us devote attention to uncovering all the mainsprings and elaborating a joint approach as to what must be done.

So, the question arises—why are these "goods" not in evidence in the stores? This is a common question which worries all of us. Why are the shortages not only not decreasing, but getting worse? Why is the practice of selling goods through rationing and on order from establishments and enterprises replacing normal trade?

We are engaged in analyzing the reasons for this situation. There are, certainly, difficulties of an objective nature which have reduced our ability to increase goods. There must be more goods than we are producing, we must increase production. Losses are incurred in connection with changes in oil prices, natural disasters, and so on. But that is not the sole crux of the matter. We are not, of course, satisfied with the work of industry when it comes to producing goods and services. That is the most important thing. Nor are we satisfied with the results in the agrarian sector. I think that we will be discussing this matter today and tomorrow. It is important to clarify what needs to be done as a matter of urgency by all of us, everywhere, in all areas. Especially if you consider that we are up against the following situation in food supply—the situation has substantially improved over these years in 32 oblasts in the Russian Federation, in particular, owing to the successful development of livestock-raising sectors; even sectors that were in a very grave position in the past have somehow changed the market situation. Take the whole Chernozem region: Some

pretty intensive work has brought about an improvement in the supply situation here. Or take Ryazan or Tambov in the same Chernozem area, where very many complaints were made about this. But all opportunities are currently being utilized there: Not only collective farms [kolkhozes] and state farms [sovkhozes], but also cottage industries [domashnyeye khozyaystvo] and cooperative trade. Talking about the current situation on the consumer market, it is attributed to a decisive degree to the fact that there has been a landslide increase in monetary income in our country over the last 2 years accompanied by low rates of production growth. That is the gist of it, so to speak. Just look what is happening. The wages fund growth rates have exceeded the national income growth rates by a factor of 5.4 and the increase in sale of goods and marketing of paid services by a factor of 1.4. Despite the fact that there has been an unprecedented 10-percent increase in commodity production, while services increased still further. This has not happened for a long time. Nevertheless the gap is a big one and is not closing but widening. Can we raise the question as follows, saying that we must halt the rise in wages? Curb it, block it? That formulation of the question is not, I believe, suitable from the standpoint of perestroika or from the standpoint of our socialist social policy. But the idea that we must pay for real results is applicable and must be firmly implemented. We must pay for end products. Since goods and services are increasing at quite different rates from wages, that means that we are not paying for the end product. Thus, obviously, enterprises' independence along with their administration of funds ends up with money being channeled above all into wages. I am only offering this idea so that you can voice your own attitude to this, your own assessments.

In 1989 money incomes rose by 13 percent. That is why there was a need for a program of urgent measures to improve the situation on the consumer market and improve finances and the entire economy as a whole. A program which the government elaborated and presented for examination and ratification to the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies—you remember how heatedly it was discussed and the great polarization of opinions there when evaluating it. Nevertheless the program was examined, supplemented, enriched with deputies' opinions, and endorsed. I am counting on you to speak out on this question too, and above all voice an opinion as to what we must do and what we have to give our attention to in order to ensure that the program does not hang in midair.

The direction in which the situation on the consumer market and the entire socioeconomic situation as a whole will develop and how reform proceeds in our country will depend in many respects on how things go this year and how we cope with the tasks we have been set for this year. This year we must adopt highly important laws on ownership, land, taxes, the enterprise, and self-management. All things that should give economic reform a mighty boost. In this context I ask you to reflect on this.

All our work in all labor collectives, all organs of management and power, in the center, and at local level is acquiring exceptionally great importance for the life of the people and the future of perestroika. That is the value of our impending work this year.

We must exchange opinions on how to make more rapid use of the opportunities availed us by economic and political reform. We must not fail to consider the fact that last year, despite a 1.7-percent increase in the rate of growth of industrial output, this increase totaled 5.87 percent in lease collectives. That is why the subject of reform may even be our main subject.

The same thing also applies in agriculture. Given the same resources the rates of growth of output production and labor productivity are higher by a factor of 1.5 among leaseholders. But there are few lease collectives. It is, certainly, not merely a matter of leasing. There are also other forms—contract collectives, thorough economic accountability, powerful incentives for personal and collective interest—they also provide approximately the same results. Thus, our experience shows how we should act and in which direction to push the reform. We must master new forms of economic activity, new systems of stimulating people's responsibility and role. But the proportion of collectives operating on the new forms is still too low both in industry and in the agrarian sector.

What, in your opinion, ought to be done to speed up the transition to new forms of economic management? We expect you to have your say on this issue, too. Let us consult about what ought to be done to eliminate all obstacles in the way of profound economic reform and the development of initiative. It is also necessary to exchange opinions as regards the measures which must be taken in order to significantly reduce the losses we incur through economic mismanagement, wastefulness, and breaches of labor and state discipline right at the present stage, while the principles of economic accountability are still not fully functional.

Generally speaking, we are facing the task of significantly improving order, not only in the economy but also in our society and the country in general. This sphere causes great alarm. People bluntly say: What is going on—is perestroika to be accompanied by growing disturbances and disorganization? Or are we doing something that is not quite right, thus complicating life in society and raising doubts about a policy which, generally speaking, we need, we know, and we are convinced of? I hope that now we will talk about what ought to be done in the labor collectives themselves, what ought to be done at oblast and republic level, and what the center ought to do. Because when the center says that people at local level are not working well, I think that is far from the truth, Comrades. But do people at local level know what they are saying when they ask: What is the center thinking about, where is the government? It is not right to have members of the government or the chairman coming in to impose order, to ensure that the city is clean and urban transport functions—what sort of reform are

we talking about, what sort of autonomy and self-management, if it is necessary to visit some specific city or rayon and organize everything?

We are probably accustomed to referring every issue to the center. Give us a ready solution from above—solutions to everything and to nothing. No. That time has gone. Because we already know where we ended up by using that actual approach. Of course, a lot depends on how the center functions. If old instructions remain in force, if old laws are retained, if every collective and every working person is swaddled, there will be no progress. In order to avoid this, the center ought to put its head on the chopping block.

But this is not all: The republics, rayons, cities, and labor collectives must also act, the cadres must also act. Why is it that, over a 4-year period, some of them underwent radical transformations long before many important decisions had been made, while others are still dragging their feet as it were, almost like a case of deliberate sabotage? People look around and say: There is some noise going on over there, perestroika is being discussed, something is happening somewhere, but there is nothing happening here. We must ponder all this today, Comrades. It is not simply a matter of "seeking a scapegoat," as the saying goes—we know that, we are past masters at it. Let us give some thought to what we must do together through division of labor, in each and every link of the management of our huge and complex social organism, in order to change our forward gear. Under no circumstances should we mark time—we can no longer remain in this state.

We are familiar with the volumes of resources. Nobody will give us any more. Nonetheless, the resources at our disposal are enormous. But we cannot go on expending them the way we expended them in the past. Look at the expenditure of resources per unit of national income in our country and in the developed capitalist countries—the difference is not in our favor. We expend approximately 25 percent more energy and material resources, and in my view we expend twice as much cement as they do per unit of national income. There they are—our resources. So, let us think about technology, about order, about economic management, about thrift. It is rightly said that our vast spaces and our wealth have corrupted us. There is no way we can get away from this: It is simply the scourge of our entire economy, of all our work. This is why it is necessary to achieve full economic accountability at every enterprise as soon as possible, so that everyone can live according to the way resources are utilized: Proper utilization must mean great benefits; bad utilization—"burned fingers," right up to declaration of bankruptcy. This must be a signal for reflection by everyone. Attitudes to work must change.

Of course, I must say this bluntly: Having gotten involved in economic reform, having embarked on reforming ownership relations, and while seeking new forms of economic management, we have somehow slackened the emphasis that we placed at the onset of

perestroika—the attention we gave to scientific and technical progress and the assimilation of new technologies. Unless this is done, nothing will happen. These are two aspects of one and the same process. Both must be kept in our field of vision.

Generally speaking, Comrades, emphasis must now be placed on businesslike efficiency. It is necessary to operate everywhere more intelligently, in a better organized fashion, more efficiently. We need joint efforts more than ever before—not discord and confrontation, but consolidation of society, concentration of efforts on the specific tasks which we must solve without fail in this crucial year.

In my introductory speech, I deliberately place emphasis on questions associated with the socioeconomic situation in society. This is the center of gravity of our work, seeing that developments in the production sphere directly affect people's living conditions, their feelings, and their moods. But, even in this complex socioeconomic situation, our people show growing interest in everything that is happening in the country. They want to thoroughly find their way about the processes of democratization and glasnost: to see what is useful and what are the defects in this exceptionally important process without which socialism cannot exist. What ought to be the role of renewed soviets and how should working people participate in their activity? What ought the CPSU to be like in the conditions of profound political changes in the country? What ought to be done to breathe fresh life into the Soviet federation? This must also be decided, because we will justify the hopes and aspirations of people of all nationalities, of all peoples, only along the path of changes, of revealing the federation's potential. There is no alternative. You see that many processes advance painfully, because problems which have accumulated over the decades and even over the centuries have now surfaced. They are acquiring the nature we have encountered in the Baltic republics, in Moldavia. This is not all: Look at the dramatic forms taken by interethnic strife in the Transcaucasus, in Azerbaijan, in Armenia. This worries us a lot. We are taking the most decisive measures to halt the bloodshed. We have embarked on the use of force against extremism and vandalism.

But despite the measures we are forced to take at times to dampen and ease the tension in interethnic relations, the main avenue remains unchanged—development of the Soviet federation. It is along these avenues that we must improve people's national and social awareness.

People see that elements of instability, of slackening of the management of economic and social processes, discipline, and order have become part of our life. They want to know the causes of these phenomena, to work out what ought to be done in order to resolutely change the entire situation in society for the better. Of course, much is due to the fact that we are abandoning the old edict forms and are switching to new ones, based on political and economic methods. We have rejected the

one, but the other is not yet properly functioning. Transitional periods are painful, this must be realized.

What can we do in practical terms? It is necessary to compress and reduce this transitional period to the minimum so as to ensure that society begins to stabilize right away, to gain stability on the basis of the application of new approaches, of new methods for the management of social processes.

It is from the viewpoint of the question of stability that the activity of the party Central Committee, its Politburo, the Supreme Soviet, and the Soviet Government is appraised. We also hear critical comments. They will probably be heard here too, at our meeting. All this is a normal process, provided it is imbued with concern for ensuring that society gathers a sound pace, moves faster, and implements perestroika. At the same time, Comrades, we are talking about major questions demanding profound analysis and utmost responsibility. I have already said this on many occasions, and I want to tell you know that the both party Central Committee and the Supreme Soviet are open to discussion of any questions and any proposals. Especially those which carry a charge of creativity.

I think that nonetheless we must be more resolute in rebutting facile and off-the-cuff opinions and conclusions which, generally speaking, pursue the objective of hindering us, destabilizing the situation, sowing discord in society, and making the activity of new organs more difficult. This must also be perceived and must not be overlooked.

It is, of course, possible to criticize the bosses as well—this is clear to everyone now, it is already something normal, it is a process that is under way. But it must be constructive and not just demagogic, as still happens frequently.

Consideration is necessary. Some people offer society and the working people simplistic solutions and prescriptions. As happened at Kashpirovskiy's seances: One, two, and society is healthy again. This is a profanity, an attempt to speculate on the existing shortage of political culture, and above all on current difficulties. Indeed, life has sharply deteriorated, there are shortages of everything, and people would like to get out of this situation as soon as possible. Who does not want this? The leaders? Believe me: They are probably the ones who, more than anyone else, want to see that everything they do yields results as early as possible. We all want this. But there are no simple solutions. It is necessary to abandon illusions that everything can be resolved in one fell swoop, in a month or a year. No. There are questions which can and must be resolved within 1-2 years. There are. In principle, however, society's renewal is a profound process and it must be conducted thoroughly.

In the recent past we have been generally pondering questions of the new organs' functions in the new conditions. We have deliberated in the Central Committee, and these questions are also actively discussed among

the deputy corps. We agree more and more on the view that initially, when shaping the new organs of supreme power and defining their functions, we failed to fully solve the task of creating an efficient mechanism at the center. This must be acknowledged. We can see this. We have still not created an efficient mechanism for implementing the goals of the policy of perestroika in the center. This must worry us, we must investigate it, and I decided when preparing my introductory speech to tell you that and to consult you. I think that we must, without any delay, ponder this question together and, provided we can agree, find an answer to it as well. A complex question, raised by life itself. We certainly need a democratic supreme power capable of operating effectively, defending and resolutely advancing perestroika, and solving the complex problems of society's renewal in the interests of all peoples.

These are a few opinions I wanted to express so as to "get you going," as the saying goes. I think that our conversation will develop on the basis of these opinions and reflections. I declare the conference open. (Applause)

Opens 2d Day of Conference

LD1901135190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1200 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Speech by Mikhail S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the All-Union Conference of Representatives of Workers, Peasants, and Engineering and Technical Workers in the Great Kremlin Palace on 19 January—recorded]

[Text] Good morning, Comrades. To begin with, opening our conference, just a few words about the situation in the Transcaucasus. The situation is not improving, for the time being. I would say it has become set in a kind of tense and acute state. Even though there are only isolated cases of clashes and pogroms and attempts to seize arms there, the situation remains tense. In accordance with the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree which introduced the special situation in Stepanakert and in a number of regions [corrects himself] rayons—and this, incidentally, pertains to the rayons which adjoin the Armenian-Azerbaijani border—all that was drawn up in the decree is being implemented. The ministries of Internal Affairs and Defense and the State Security Committee, and the Ministry of Transport are acting in accordance with this.

It must be honestly said that along with the fact that Army subunits are being redeployed, recourse to partial mobilization has been made in the Northern Caucasus so that assistance may be rendered quickly, so that assistance can be given. This has given rise to discontent among the population. There are many nationalities in the Northern Caucasus and much friction has arisen there.

Throughout almost the whole night the party committees, together with the population, conducted talks and contacted both Kirovabad and the troops to find out

what is happening there and how. There is much agitation. People take it very much to heart. Here you have the meaning of this, or that instance, in the context of our conditions, in which the whole country is interlinked, everyone's destiny depending on everybody else's destiny, peoples' and individuals' alike—and that is what the reaction is like.

All Soviet people have one demand. It is coming to us like a flow, in all forms, and is brought to our attention: To take all the necessary measures so that this situation does not continue to develop negatively further. Yesterday we had conversations with Azerbaijani and Armenian delegates here, at their request. They are very alarmed. They, too, expressed support for the measures being implemented. They ask that the development of these processes be halted. They are very dissatisfied—and they vented their indignation—by the fact that there are some people who are trying to play on national feelings for mercenary interests of their own. Here there are no differences between us and the delegates from both republics who represent the people.

In fact we never mix up a small group of extremists and irresponsible adventurers and representatives of the shadow economy who plunder both of these peoples there. They don't need perestroika, it sticks in their throat, you understand, that's what it's about. But who also... you can't go forward with the anti-perestroika banner. They therefore clutch at the tension and at facts that have arisen on a nationalities' basis. That is the simple mechanism here.

Now even those who are urging on all these extremist forces in Azerbaijan and drawing the people into these affairs, stirring up its consciousness, they say they have nothing against the Armenians and Armenia. It's Moscow's fault. It's Moscow. Moscow has done everything to cause the two peoples to collide. It needs that.

So this public has no conscience or decency which can be counted on. One must unite the healthy forces of these two peoples and the firm position of the whole union and conduct these matters and put everything in its place. Because forces have already appeared there which yesterday and earlier came out in favor of Azerbaijan's leaving, in favor of an Islamic Azerbaijan. There is a public there. But this is not supported among the people. This you have to know, comrades. People go to work and they don't let them. People go to use transportation, they don't let them. All these pickets are rogues, threatening families, too, and with weapons and so on as well.

We must distinguish precisely between this and what we are doing so that it is in the interests both of the Azerbaijani people and the Armenian people and in the interests of our whole state of many nationalities.

Last night and today, no doubt, they have broadcast it and you have already familiarized yourselves with it. We, as we agreed with you, we appealed to the peoples of these two republics on behalf of the Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the government. We

appealed so that they would understand that we see the whole situation. We will assess it correctly and we will act in such a way as to come and render assistance and protect the lives of these two peoples.

I hope that you not only share this. Yesterday when Nikolay Ivanovich and I were talking with the delegations from the two republics essentially half the hall, or one-third of the hall, was taking part, surrounding us. I believe that you are of the same opinion, for I sense that this is the opinion of the whole country. We will do everything to prevent this acuteness building up further, although I think that when they have come up against force these extremist elements will do everything they can to exacerbate the situation. They can resort to all sorts of provocations.

They are already blowing up water mains in some places so that there won't be any water. They are striking at essential services, at facilities which are essential for people's lives. Well, one must be aware of all this, and we are aware of it and we are acting and taking all of this into account.

That is the information we have. You should simply be aware how things actually stand.

Now we will continue the discussion. I bring to your attention that 206 people have put their names down to speak; 29 people have already spoken; 177 people remain on the list.

Concluding Talk

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20 Jan 90 Second Edition p 3*

[M.S. Gorbachev's concluding speech at the 19 January session of the All-Union Conference of Representatives of the Working Class, the Peasantry, and Engineering and Technical Personnel in Moscow.]

[Text] I would like to say a few words at the close of the conference. You will understand—because to sum up, just like that, a large-scale, state conversation which took place over the course of 2 days in the Grand Kremlin Palace, would, I think, be a great pretension on the part of any of us. However, there is an impression, there are initial evaluations, and there are conclusions, and I would like to speak about this.

As we expected, the event was out of the ordinary. In general, a large-scale conversation took place, on all aspects, mainly on internal and even on foreign policy—on all the main trends of perestroika and on the situation in the socioeconomic, political, and spiritual spheres. For this reason all of us in the Politburo and CPSU Central Committee Secretariat evaluate this very highly.

Comrades, it is especially important that this conversation, as it were, took up the baton from the Second Congress of People's Deputies and very substantially deepened understanding of the real processes and the

real situation in the country. Now the party Central Committee—within the framework of its responsibility and within the framework of the CPSU's activities as the political vanguard of society—as well as the Supreme Soviet, as the lawmaking body, and the government are working on the implementation of everything which was adopted by the second congress and which people's deputies said. All our very important and substantive exchange of opinions is also included in this work—for the necessary corrections to be made to all of that work which is now unfolding. These positions and judgements are very important now, when the Supreme Soviet—which will adopt decisions on fundamental issues in implementing perestroika, in the reform of both the economy and the political system—is about to start work.

It is also very important that this conversation has taken place on the eve of a party Central Committee plenum, which will discuss the draft platform for the CPSU's program for the 28th party congress. Like other comrades I, too, have listened to speeches and compared them with what I already know, with what is contained in the draft, and with what we have written; and I can see that we shall still have to do a bit of work and do it thoroughly. This view of mine probably coincides with the opinion of all the comrades who are sitting here in the presidium. Therefore, that work includes everything which has been said here, by virtue of the content, the place, the time of its holding, and the scope of the conversation. That is the first point.

Second, comrades, I think it is important that this has been a direct and open conversation; people will see and hear what their envoys have been talking about in the Kremlin and, I believe, assess it as it deserves. The atmosphere was direct and open. Of course, the conversation was—what can I say?—very tough and demanding, with serious critical remarks aimed at the center and the republics and on the subject of the activity of local party, economic, and soviet bodies.

I do not think that such a conversation can proceed any differently, especially now, when there is a lot of anxiety and there are many difficulties and problems requiring solution in all regions.

From this dialogue we conclude that yes, the working people are in favor of perestroika, of this we have once again been made aware. This is very important, comrades, it is support for the Central Committee, for the Supreme Soviet and for the government. Because the turn we are bringing about cannot be implemented without understanding and support—real political support and support in deeds.

This gives us confidence in our work and gives a big impetus to push forward the cause of perestroika. At the same time, however, we have been made aware that in supporting perestroika, in the first place, today everyone to a man is becoming a politician, and an economist, too,

to boot. Before, no one took any interest in economics: Give us the resources, they would say, and we'll do it.

A profound and serious discussion has taken place. We shall not conceal that in some places, at certain moments it was reminiscent of production conferences of the past. But in the current situation I interpret even this in the following way: Somewhere or other, management procedure has evidently been infringed, and people wanted to report this idea, to put things right and suggest that the center should turn its attention to certain issues which are hampering people in their work.

So, the main thing is nevertheless that people are for perestroika. You have reported that this is the people's opinion. I think this is not only your opinion and you yourselves have said this—but it is the opinion of all the collectives which have authorized you to come here to the Kremlin.

Everyone, however, is dissatisfied with the way perestroika is going. We have taken account of this, and not in a simple or informal way, but profoundly, to draw both political and practical conclusions in every respect. You should be assured of this. We shall do everything to ensure that this demand by the working people of the country should be embodied in the practical actions of the center.

I would put next the concern which has been voiced in all the speeches. Our comrades support the political reform, the radical economic reform, and support those processes which are being accompanied by greater glasnost, openness, and the opportunity to compare positions and consider the moral atmosphere in the country. In supporting all this, our comrades, I can see, will not just accept things, and I understand this in the following way: They will not reconcile themselves to the fact that there is slackening, there are manifestations of instability, there is a loss of management not only of the economy but also of social processes in the country.

There is an exacerbation in some areas, and in such a sphere as interethnic relations it has assumed a character which is already worrying the whole country; and I regard as just the demands for the center to draw conclusions and, relying on this support (and we are calculating that we shall have it), to change the situation decisively for the better. I include here issues of order, economic mismanagement, and the need for a resolute fight against crime.

Therefore, the alarm which has been heard here is also for us the demand of all the working people of the country. I am not dealing with details now. This means that very serious efforts are needed, through the party, in work with the people and society, using the mass media, the whole ideological apparatus and all the potential which the party has at its disposal, to rouse society against the negative phenomena which are putting the brakes on perestroika and complicating the whole of life, which is already tense anyway. In exactly the same way,

the legislative body must also, without delay, do everything to strengthen order and discipline, so that the processes of government might yield the necessary positive results, and not the opposite. The government, acting within the framework of the economic and political reform, but also using methods from the past arsenal—since we are in a transitional period—must intensify its management of the national economy. So, comrades, we take this as a just demand which must be implemented.

It seems to me—and this has been shown by the Second Congress of People's Deputies and by our conversation in the framework of the All Union Conference of Representatives of the Working Class, Peasantry and Intelligentsia—that there is now a realization of the fact that in implementing our economic strategy we must continue our policy aimed at turning the economy to a still greater extent and still more quickly toward social needs and the immediate vital needs of the people. This means food, housing, and satisfying the market.

We shall do this. In just the same way, my comrades in the leadership and I are listening to the demands that there should be greater order, especially as far as the fight against speculative elements who skillfully parasitize on shortages and on the difficulties arising in the market is concerned. Here comrades have spoken very insistently about this. I would share the tone and purport of another approach: Our comrades realize that the center is not some sort of storehouse closed by cunning locks and that we only have to find the keys through good government or through good people at the center—and that once it is opened everything will come tumbling out. Everyone realizes that things are not like that. They realize that for our life to change for the better we must conduct our affairs differently in the country. I take to heart the speech by the driver, from Yakutiya, I think, who said: We must steer correctly. A very true thought and I said so.... (applause). You like that. Now I don't know how you will applaud, but why don't you work differently too and put some order in your own labor collectives? (Applause). Good. That's fine. Then things will happen.

If we are going to say: Only you are guilty and, so to say, a lot has been done, but you don't make use of it—I think that isn't what it's all about. This is a process which must happen at the top and in the middle ranks and especially at the decisive level, in the working, production collective.

It seems to me that perestroika will now start to speed up because the center has begun to work with greater intelligence, with greater knowledge and with greater competence and a mighty wave of support from the working collectives has risen up to meet it. This is very important. We need to go along this constructive road and not along the road of rallies, foot stamping, clapping, and so on. It has been said correctly that this is already being left behind us and we have to bid it farewell.

The main thing is to ensure that perestroika is speeded up and practical jobs tackled through combined efforts and consolidation.

Rather more independence [is required]. In general, that is tied with democracy, too; for democracy means decentralization both in tackling political issues via the soviets, and of economic power via labor collectives' independence, economic reform, and greater regional independence. This is in line with the main idea and thrust of the whole of perestroika.

I should like to draw your attention to one part of this thought. If anyone thinks that greater independence means fewer normatives for deductions, then nothing will come of it. We must find the optimum solution to allow all the country's problems to be tackled in a balanced and comprehensive fashion. It is hard to quarrel with this. Nor is it possible to justify a collective which had, just the day before, worked well, suddenly finding itself incapable—through ill-thought out norms—and in a most difficult economic, and consequently social, position. But in just the same way one should not anticipate a collective suddenly starting to live well given the same work—without an increase in labor productivity, without a rise in the volume and an improvement in the quality and quantity of output, and without the needs of society being better met. This we must not allow.

I think we are advancing precisely in this direction and, finally, we will have made a good deal of progress by the end of the 13th 5-Year Plan period, because a lot of work has already been done on the basis of 4 years. There is now a more thought-out normative base which will make it possible to balance in society the interests of both man and collective and society as a whole. One should advance along this path. Therefore, taking into account this adjustment, this remark, we are coming out for developing the independence of the basic production components of our economy.

I think that we will have no dynamics otherwise. All the documents will be prepared that way: Both laws and governmental decisions. We will be introducing the necessary corrections.

I am grateful to you, representatives of the country's working people, for the fact that much attention was devoted here to concern and alarm for the fate of our Leninist party.

Indeed, there was unanimity here, or at least in these surroundings—perhaps someone does in fact take another view, but they did not summon up the courage to speak from a different standpoint.

Restructuring will also unfailingly triumph with fewer setbacks in the sphere of the economy, in the social sphere, and in the sphere of interethnic relations if this process is effectively and skilfully headed by a political party (a regenerated party) which must act with a strong sense of responsibility and be with the people at this

turning-point, this historic and momentous point in the development of the country.

I, all of us, have felt this unanimity and we thank you for this understanding. Such is also precisely the Central Committee's understanding. We are not put out by the voiced criticism, because by and large the criticism, which was to be heard here, too, is a criticism prompted by concern for the destiny of the party and the destiny of the country. So we welcome it on the whole. Similarly the critical statements that are of a personal nature point to the shortcomings at certain levels, and that includes the Central Committee's activities. All that is proper. And we accept it. I think the criticism, the whole debate, the whole discussion of this topic will meet with understanding and support in the country.

The speeches and written requests from the Moscow delegation and others brought up the question of bringing forward the date of the 28th party congress. This was discussed. We had already brought the congress forward by nearly half a year. It was to have been held in 1991, but we decided to call it for October of this year. The question of whether it should not be held earlier, in June for instance, was discussed. If you follow the logic that underlay the adoption of the Central Committee plenum decision to hold the congress in October, thereby bringing it forward by half a year, then it would be difficult to do it in June. We wanted to come to the congress after a very serious discussion in the party on the platform that we are going to publish and after a very serious report-back and election campaign, which should alter the atmosphere and the personnel situation in the primary organizations, in the rayons, and in towns alike, so that new people should come to the congress, and this would also no doubt influence the formation of new bodies—in brief, so that the report-back and election campaign itself, held in full, should both crystallize problems and bring forward many new people and new forces.

This was the plan. I spoke about this, and I am now telling you about this—in a forthright party way. The comrades think that one could do things as follows: Hold the congress and then hold the elections. If all this—the party discussion—does not take place, and if we do not create a certain atmosphere to ensure that the next congress is fruitful, progressive and far-reaching in its consequences, will we be able to justify this? Won't we get a situation in which the renewal on which we are counting, the new people, the bringing in of fresh forces at the central level won't take place? Let's not beat about the bush. There will be a platform. There are already a lot of ideas. Work is underway on a new charter. This can be put forward for discussion, and at some time in June it would be possible to hold the congress. But, comrades, we have to think about this once again and then several more times. Incidentally, we were proceeding on the assumption that the 1st half of the year will be taken up also with the elections to local soviets. This is also a

major political campaign, which will provide an opportunity for party organizations to start working in a new way and bring to light fresh forces and people.

So that's generally what we were figuring on. Since this subject has been discussed here, it is motivated, I see, by an intention and by concern for the party, and we shall take these thoughts and the substance of the debate we have held on this issue as well to the next plenum of the party Central Committee, which we assume will take place on 29-30 January.

I can assure you that this will be done, particularly since what we are now discussing will also be known to the country and the party. So there can be no chicanery [khimiya] here, as they say. This is all very serious, and we must trust one another here. There are no "Kremlin court" secrets here, nor can there be. The one main concern is the fate of our perestroika. (Applause).

On that, comrades, I conclude my short speech. I would say that this all-union conference has made a great contribution to stabilizing the situation in the country, but has also led to a deeper understanding of the problems and the need to speed up perestroika and make it more dynamic.

Thank you all for everything you have given to this congress. I wish you great success in your work! (Applause).

Moscow Radio Report of Closing Talk

LD1901144390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1300 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] The All-Union conference of representatives of the working class, peasantry, and engineering-technical staff ended 1 hour ago in the Grand Kremlin Palace.

Delivering the closing address, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said that a brochure containing the conference materials would be published in a large number of copies. It will also include the speeches that were prepared but not made during the 2 days. It is necessary that the ideas of the meeting should become a reality of our public and political life. The Central Committee will instruct the appropriate organizations to carefully consider the specific proposals put forward at the conference.

Comrade Gorbachev shared his impressions, assessments and conclusions with those attending the meeting. He appraised the conference as an extraordinary event providing a stimulus for further development in all the main directions of perestroika. This conversion will make it possible to introduce the necessary modifications into the work that is now being carried out by the Central Committee and the government towards implementing the decisions of the Second USSR People's Deputies Congress. It is also very important that this conversation should take place just before the CPSU Central Committee plenum that will discuss the CPSU's joint platform for the 28th Party Congress.

Comrade Gorbachev announced that the plenum would assemble 29-30 January, and in that connection voiced gratitude to those who had enunciated words of alarm and concern over the destiny of the Communist Party, since he viewed that as alarm and concern over the destiny of perestroika.

Comrade Gorbachev also spoke about the timing for convening the 28th Congress, as proposals had been voiced here about speeding up its convocation. The party leader considers that it is necessary to come to the congress after very serious discussion and after a report-back and election campaign, so that the most vital issues become crystalized, and new people emerge in the course of the campaign. So it will be logical to hold the congress at the time suggested by the Central Committee, that is, in October of this year.

In conclusion, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev expressed the conviction that the conference of representatives of the working class, the peasantry, and engineering-technical staff had made a great contribution towards stabilizing the economic situation within the country, and had deepened the understanding of the processes of perestroika.

Gorbachev Statement on Caucasus Situation

*PM1901201390 London ITV Television Network
in English 1900 GMT 19 Jan 90*

[Statement by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU, to ITV Reporter in Moscow on 19 January—recorded]

[Text] It's still very bleak: Lives are in danger. That's why, as well as all the political and humanitarian steps we've taken, we have added the forces of order so that it will not get any worse. First of all, within both peoples here are those who want to put a stop to this situation and its escalation. All the same, forces have become involved which exploit national and even religious feelings. [unidentified voice interrupts in Russian]

One moment. So people can see there are some who want to destroy perestroika because perestroika provides the environment in which people and nationalities can be reconciled. People have lived there for centuries and will still have to live there. Therefore, we must help these people suffering under these forces, and will act responsibly but decisively.

Gorbachev Speaks to Nation on Caucasus Clashes

*PM2101173190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 Jan 90 Second Edition p 1*

[“Speech on Central Television by M.S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium”]

[Text] Comrades, we have all witnessed a lengthy, interethnic conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia. We are all seriously concerned by the fact that the tension which

has arisen here is not only not subsiding, but from time to time becomes more acute, each time leading to grave consequences. Over the course of the last 2 years, the central organs of power have striven, for their part, to take patient and well-considered actions and have tried to resolve difficult problems by exclusively peaceful political means.

Comradely dialogue, discussion in the USSR Supreme Soviet, in the party Central Committee, in the government, trips by USSR People's deputies, repeated meetings in Moscow with the leadership of the two republics and with deputies—all means were used with one aim, that of attaining agreement and establishing good neighbourly and even simply human relations, of finding a way out of the impasse that has come about; and, in the final analysis, of normalizing the situation around Nagorno-Karabakh [NKAO].

In acting in this manner, we proceeded from the conviction that violence, enmity and continuation of the conflict would lead to nothing good but would only poison the situation further and result in even more human casualties and even greater violence. Unfortunately, the party, local Soviet, and state organs of the two republics failed in these conditions to display the due sense of responsibility and moderation; and often betrayed their principled positions under pressure from nationalistic groups.

That is what happened of late as well when decisions contravening the USSR Constitution were adopted at sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR and the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijani SSR. Not only did these fail to promote the normalization of the situation, they, on the contrary, exacerbated it and strengthened the confrontation. Neither side heeded the voice of reason even when it sounded with particular force from the rostrum of the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies. It is this situation that has been exploited by antisocial and antipopular elements for further fanning hostility and exacerbating the conflict. Armed clashes began, particularly in the border areas and those of shared residence.

On 15 January of this year the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium was obliged to adopt a decree on introducing a state of emergency in the NKAO and in certain other areas of Azerbaijan and Armenia. It would seem that such a measure would have stopped the violence and brought the extremists, the leaders of the popular fronts, who have cast their own peoples into the abyss of chaos and suffering, to their senses. But the voice of reason, the voice of the Soviet public and all the peoples of our country, was ignored this time too. Calls for dialogue, consensus, and tolerance went unheeded. Moreover, the militant nationalist careerists continued to inflame the situation and to form guerilla detachments. Blockades of the roads and airports began. Attacks on military personnel, arsenals and the law and order bodies became more frequent. These events assumed a particularly tragic nature in Baku: pogroms,

murders, the hounding of perfectly innocent people from their homes and beyond the borders of the republic.

The actions of extremist forces in Azerbaijan have become...[changes thought] were becoming increasingly blatant, antistate, anticonstitutional and antipopular in nature. In a number of rayons the legitimate bodies of power were violently dismissed from the fulfilment of their functions and administrative structures were destroyed. Engineering and technical installations were wrecked along hundreds of kilometers of the state borders, and there was virtually no attempt to conceal the aim of seizing power in the republic by force.

Things could not go on like that. Alongside profound sympathy for the innocent victims there was growing anger and indignation in the country over the criminal actions and the instances of cruel violence and vandalism and of flouting of the law. The Soviet people rightly demanded that the country's leadership take resolute measures to restore legality and law and order and to guarantee the safety of people's lives.

You already know that a state of emergency has been introduced in Baku by decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Subunits of MVD [Interior Ministry] troops and of the Soviet Army have entered the city. They have occupied key facilities and taken control of state establishments. Decisive measures are being taken against those committing pogroms and organizing and instigating disorder. Firearms and ammunition are being confiscated from criminal elements.

There have been deaths [yest zhertvy]. I must say with profound regret. In some places the military subunits were met with gunfire from terrorists and were forced to use weapons in retaliation.

Today has brought misfortune to some homes. I extend my most sincere condolences to those families.

The tragic events in Baku, the border areas of Azerbaijan and Armenia and other areas of Transcaucasia are revealing the full cost of the nationalist rampage and the speculation on sacred national feelings.

It is criminal to incite people into blind hatred, into the insanity of a fratricidal war. It is the duty of the state to put an end to the lawlessness and to the inhumanity, to resolutely cut short the criminal actions of extremists who have lost their human face and who are prepared to sacrifice others for the sake of personal ambitions, of self-centered interests, of a thirst for power. It is the duty of the state to return peace and security to people as well as the possibility for the people of both republics to freely and democratically develop and to work normally, to live calmly, and to raise and educate their children. The soldiers and officers of the Soviet Army and of the internal troops are fulfilling their duty to uphold the USSR Constitution and the law. The leadership hopes that the measures that have been taken will be understood and supported by all the peoples of our country.

At this hour, I call upon all citizens of Azerbaijan and Armenia to display wisdom and prudence and not to give in to provocative slogans and actions. I call upon all those who have been deceived and led astray or forcibly drawn into criminal actions to come to their senses, to think better of it, and to stop. I ask all of you to give all possible assistance to restoring civil peace and overcoming jointly the trial which has befallen us.

I believe that prudence and responsibility will triumph, will prevail. Today as never before, we require harmony between all nations, close cooperation, and assistance to each other for the sake of a better life for all the people of our state.

Gorbachev, Azerbaijan Leaders Meet 20 Jan

*LD2001200790 Moscow TASS in English 2003 GMT
20 Jan 90*

[Text] Moscow January 20 TASS—On Saturday [20 January] General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev met members of the bureau of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Ayaz Mutaibov, Gasan Gasanov, Muslim Mamedov and Viktor Polyanichko.

There was a detailed exchange of opinions about the situation that has taken shape in the republic. Ways to bring the republic's life back to normal as soon as possible and to restore managerial structures and working rhythm were discussed.

Taking part in the meeting were also Nikolay Ryzhkov, Lev Zaykov, Vladimir Kryuchkov, Vadim Medvedev, Aleksandr Yakovlev, Anatoliy Lukyanov, and Georgiy Razumovsky.

Azerbaijan CP First Secretary Vezirov Dismissed

*LD2001174590 Moscow World Service in English
1700 GMT 20 Jan 90*

[Text] Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov has been stripped of the post of the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan.

Party Bureau Names New Leaders

*LD2001175290 Moscow TASS in English 1747 GMT
20 Jan 90*

[Text] Baku January 20 TASS—The bureau of the Azerbaijani Communist Party Central Committee met today to discuss the situation that has arisen in the republic. Party committees focus their attention on all the necessary measures to avert an escalation of tension and to normalise the situation in the republic. It was found necessary to make a deep and all-round analysis of the causes of the events that took place.

The bureau expressed condolences in connection with the human victims. A three-day mourning has been declared in the republic.

Since Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov was relieved of his duties as first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, bureau members Ayaz Mutalibov, chairman of the Azerbaijan Council of Ministers, and Viktor Polyanichko, second secretary of the republic Communist Party Central Committee, were put in charge of the Central Committee bureau.

Reports of Transcaucasus Casualties Vary

TASS Report

LD2001164790 Moscow TASS in English 1639 GMT 20 Jan 90

["Situation in Azerbaijan and Armenia (With Interior Ministry Figures)"]—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow January 20 TASS—According to the preliminary data of the USSR Interior Ministry, this morning during the entry of Soviet Army units and interior troops into Baku, 51 civilians were killed and 287 wounded. Among servicemen, six men were killed—three interior forces troops and three Soviet Army soldiers—and 36 wounded. The servicemen used weapons in response to fire opened on them by militants of the Popular Front of Azerbaijan. TASS learned these figures at the USSR Interior Ministry.

A state of emergency and curfew were imposed on Baku. Industrial plants and public transport stand idle. Local newspapers have not been published for two days and no central newspapers are available. Radio remains the sole source of information.

In the past twenty four hours there were 43 cases of ransacking of houses belonging to Armenian families. Two men died in hospital. Over the same time 15 active participants in the disturbances were detained. The total number of detained since January 11 is 126 people.

Gun battles continue in the Azerbaijani areas bordering on Armenia. Roads are still blockaded and redeployment of interior troops and Soviet Army units is impeded. Industrial enterprises in a number of border towns are not functioning.

During the mass crossing of the state border in the area of the Azerbaijani town of Pushkino, interior service Major Dzhavadov and militia Sergeant Shakhveranov were detained by Iranian authorities. Dzhavadov has been returned to Soviet authorities, Shakhveranov's whereabouts are not known.

Armed attacks on militia offices and other facilities with the aim of seizing weapons continue unabated in Armenia. Over the past twenty four hours twelve such attacks were staged and 190 units of various weapons seized.

Fire was traded in the Ararat region between Armenian militants and inhabitants of three villages of the Nakhichevan autonomous republic. According to the

preliminary date, two people were killed and 20 wounded, including one interior troops serviceman.

Interior troops, the army and border guards are taking measures to stabilize the situation. Additional troops are being moved into Azerbaijan and Armenia.

Radio Says Death Toll 83

LD2101161890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Text] We have just received an additional report from Baku. According to the military commandant, 83 people, including 14 servicemen and members of their families, have died in the city since 19-20 January.

TASS 21 Jan Report

LD2101160390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1530 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Baku, 21 Jan (TASS)—TASS special correspondents Aleksandr Budris and Vladimir Fomin report: [passage omitted]

Data on those who have suffered can be only preliminary today. The chief doctor of the municipal ambulance service gave such a figure in relation with the events that took place since the night from Friday to Saturday and up to today: There are 57 people killed and about 500 wounded among the civilian population.

While this reportage is being recorded, people from all the parts of Baku are streaming to the square before the building of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Central Committee for a mourning rally. The thought—when will the situation be finally stabilized—is on everybody's mind. There is no answer to this question today.

Bessmertnykh Holds Press Conference on Situation

LD2001133690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] Here is some information on the events in the town of Baku. USSR First Deputy Foreign Minister Bessmertnykh has just held a briefing at the USSR Foreign Ministry press center. He said:

[Begin Bessmertnykh recording] In connection with the imprecise reports which have emerged in the foreign media on the events in Baku and in connection with preventing any distorted interpretations of them, I would like to brief press representatives on the following:

Yesterday, on 19 January, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted a decree declaring an emergency situation in the city of Baku as from 20 January. The decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet presidium of 15 January is being broadly enforced. On this basis early this morning military units of the Soviet army and interior ministry troops were brought into the city.

Despite all the measures undertaken in the past few days to calm the situation and to prevent further exacerbation and further suffering of people who live in the republic and its capital, extremist elements nevertheless continued their destructive activities. They have created a headquarters which has effectively set the task of removing from power the lawfully operating state bodies and thereby seizing it for themselves. These violent and anti-constitutional actions have assumed an extremely dangerous scale.

Attempts were made to seize television and radio stations and to paralyze the activity of party, state and local bodies. In Baku the teams of militants started to put up barricades and blockade communications and continued to carry out pogroms of apartments and houses. The safety of the capital's residents was put under serious threat. Using machine guns, automatic rifles and sniper rifles, the teams of militants undertook combat actions, including direct armed attacks. The troops retaliated, in keeping with the order at hand and for the purpose of self-defense. There were casualties as a result of the clashes initiated by the extremist forces.

I wish to report the figures to hand, taking into account that the foreign press speculates a great deal, exceedingly exaggerating this sad aspect of the matter. Eight military servicemen have died. According to the Azerbaijani Internal Affairs Ministry figures, more than 40 of the attackers are dead. The number of those injured is considerable. [end recording]

Appeals to Azerbaijani Leaders Not Heeded

LD2001162490 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1450 GMT 20 Jan 90

["Unscheduled news bulletin"]

[Text] At the press center of the USSR Foreign Ministry today there was a briefing at which USSR First Deputy Foreign Minister Comrade Bessmertnykh made a statement. Replying to a question from a TASS correspondent about whether the government of the republic, the party bodies, and the leaders of military units had made attempts to find mutually acceptable solutions to get out of the crisis situation, the reply was given that these had been undertaken frequently. Unfortunately, all of them had produced no result. The constant appeals to the Azerbaijan Popular Front to display prudence and to cease illegal actions were rejected by them.

You know, the question springs to my mind and probably to yours, too: what disaster will have to strike the long-suffering land for people finally to understand the whole tragedy of the situation which has been created? Surely emotions have not so clouded reason that appeals to display wisdom and restraint will not find a response in people's hearts.

Bessmertnykh Statement on Baku Situation

LD2001221990 Moscow World Service in English
1810 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] And now a statement made over the telephone by Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh concerning the situation in the Transcaucasus.

[Begin Bessmertnykh recording] There is (?quite) a number of reports from foreign mass media that (?state) some rumors, some exaggerated figures about what has happened in Baku. Therefore, I think our listeners should, or your listeners should know about the real facts.

They should know that on the 19th January the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR has adopted a decree which (?has established) or introduced an emergency situation in the city of Baku, and based on that decree, Soviet troops including some units from the internal troops were introduced to the city. Of course, everybody is trying to analyze [words indistinct] (?why it has happened), and I answer that all the, all possible measures have been taken recently to quiet the situation, to calm it down, to prevent further exacerbation of the situation so that there will be no more sufferings of the people living in the republic and in its capital.

Extremist elements, nevertheless, continued their destructive activities. They have established a kind of headquarters which has as its major purpose to deny a (?legal) body of government their power, (?and to grant them power. So we put the arbitrary) and anti-constitutional actions on their part, and those actions gained very dangerous scale. For example those extremists tried to take over the television and radio station, to terrorize the activities of the party and state and Soviet orders, the barricades (?raised) in the city of Baku. And what is most important, the life of the citizens was endangered. And when the troops were entering the city, these commandos (?attacked) them using firearms like submachine guns and sharp shooting rifles, etc. So the troops who had their orders, which were published in the Soviet press, and also trying to have a self defense, those have responded to those actions, who as a result of those clashes unfortunately—and the clashes were initiated by the extremist groups—unfortunately there were victims.

According to the information that our Foreign Ministry has received there were eight soldiers killed, and according to the facts provided to us by the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Azerbaijan republic, more than 40 people (?from) those extremists groups were killed as well. Unfortunately there is a significant number of wounded people in the city, so the full situation is still tense and we are very sorry for all those, for what has happened.

As for the party and state and other governing bodies in the republic, they are functioning at the moment. So this

is the kind of information we have at the moment. (?If there is something else we shall provide you with it. [end recording])

Bessmertnykh Comments on Nakhichevan

*LD2101224990 Moscow World Service in English
1810 GMT 21 Jan 90*

[Excerpts] International news media reporting about the latest developments in Baku, capital of the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan, have not been invariably accurate. We've asked First Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh to comment on the situation in the Transcaucasus. [passage omitted including indistinct passage]

Attempts are made to interpret the conflict around Nagorno-Karabakh, a conflict between the Azerbaijani and Armenian people, as an outbreak of religious strife. Attempts of this kind [words indistinct]. We firmly believe this is a strictly ethnic conflict, a conflict rooted in ethnic relations between these two nationalities. Any attempt to give the conflict any other parameters can only fan the situation, not resolve it.

When asked to comment on the reports from Nakhichevan on the proclamation of this autonomous republic's independence from the Soviet Union, Aleksandr Bessmertnykh replied: The only thing I can say as a legal expert is this—these actions bear a character that (?clashes against) the Constitution and legal principles of this country. They cannot be sized up as (?prudent) goals.

Nationalities Official on Baku Situation

*LD2001114790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0900 GMT 20 Jan 90*

[Text] You know, comrades, in every edition of a newspaper or magazine or a radio or television program there are some subjects and points to which the editor or author wants to draw the listeners', viewers' or readers' particular interest. One such subject will be aired now in our program today. You will agree that many of our hopes that conflict situations will be resolved and there will be progress in political and economic reforms are linked with the country's Supreme Soviet. Of course, this applies primarily to nationality problems as well. Let me remind you that a deputies' commission on ethnic policy and interethnic relations has been formed in the Soviet of Nationalities. It is headed by Georgiy Stanislavovich Tarazevich. As you have already gathered, Georgiy Stanislavovich is participating in today's program. Listen to a recording of our conversation with him:

[Begin recording] [Interviewer] Georgiy Stanislavovich, if I may, I should like to ask you to begin with your impressions connected with your recent trip to Baku, where you were among representatives of the Supreme Soviet, as far as I know.

[Tarazevich] Indeed, on an instruction from the leadership of the Supreme Soviet I had occasion a few days ago to spend 3 days in Baku, including the Saturday when those sad events began. So, what can I say? Primarily, that the situation there is very complex. In essence, we are dealing with a struggle, a serious, open struggle for power. Certain forces in the republic and in Baku are using various methods, including force and arms, to ensure the implementation of their goals. In essence, it is a blow against perestroika, a blow against the processes, the processes of democratization, which are going on in our society. The rally held in Baku on Saturday and the calls which were expressed at that rally testify to that. Those calls consisted of setting up armed formations, seizing arms, and using arms to seek to achieve their objectives. Incidentally, that has already happened in some regions of the republic: Take the town of Lenkoran, where the rayon party committee, the rayon executive committee, the rayon militia department, and the mass media were seized literally a week ago; and in essence, power has still not been restored there. Therefore, the situation is very complex and unclear. Everything is proceeding under the banner of solving the Nagorno Karabakh problem, although, in essence, that problem is a sort of pretext behind which completely different goals can be implemented. What is going on in Baku just now favors both extremist-minded strata and conservatives, because it is, specifically, a blow against the progressive processes which are going on and developing in our society; and it is, precisely, in the interests of both conservatives and extremists to stifle and halt this development or, maybe, to turn it back.

[Interviewer] Evidently, this is also a lesson for other regions of the country, for other republics, where party and local soviet leaders and the aktiv often give in to extremists, afraid of engaging in open polemics with them and of appealing to people directly and arguing with them.

[Tarazevich] Yes, of course, it is a sort of lesson. However, obviously, if we are to talk about today's events in Azerbaijan, in Baku, we cannot speak about polemics there today any more—although polemics are necessary, dialogue is necessary, convictions are necessary, and political means are also necessary. But today, of course, these events and their bloody consequences can be stopped only by the extraordinary measures which were adopted recently by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. They are tough measures, which are, of course, temporary. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet undertook them consciously, because, in essence, there was no longer any other way out. Of course, such extremist outbursts and speeches—especially, speeches against human rights and people's lives—can be stopped only by force. It is for that reason, strictly speaking, that the extraordinary measures were adopted, although they were adopted in a fairly non-uniform manner in the republics, in both the one republic and the other. I want to say that the Armenian side has also stirred up these

events—take the well-known decisions which were cancelled by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. [passage omitted] [end recording]

People's Front Declares 'Special Situation' in Baku

*LD2001031290 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0235 GMT 20 Jan 90*

[Text] [No dateline as received] As a result of illegal, criminal actions by the extremist forces of the "People's Front" and by anti-Soviet groupings which are attempting by violent means to remove from power the constitutional bodies of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic, the situation in Baku has deteriorated sharply.

By means of blackmail, disinformation, threats, and the whipping up of hysteria, by direct actions to block main transport routes and government buildings and seize the radio and television center, and also by controlling [kontrol] movements of transport and population, even extending to the checking of citizens' documents, and by other illegal actions, those forces have paralyzed the life of the city. There have been persistent calls for the overthrow of Soviet power, and for physical reprisals against all differently minded people and their families. The "People's Front" of the Azerbaijani capital has proclaimed a "special situation" regime [rezhim osobogo polozheniya]. A critical situation has been created.

In the circumstances, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet has been forced to use the extreme measure provided for by the law and declare a state of emergency [chrezvychaynoye polozheniye] in Baku.

Military units have been brought into the city. All kinds of provocations and obstacles have been perpetrated in the path of their advance. The guerrillas [boyeviki] of the "People's Front" have opened fire on the servicemen. The military units have been forced to reply. Lives have been lost.

The military commandant is taking measures to stabilize the situation.

Baku Curfew, Situation Detailed

*LD2001083390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0700 GMT 20 Jan 90*

[Text] We've just managed to get in touch with Leonid Lazarevich, our correspondent in Baku. Here's what he reported.

[Lazarevich] Every 30 minutes, the radio here broadcasts an appeal to the inhabitants by the military commandant of the city of Baku. It says that for the purpose of maintaining law and order, curbing infringements of the law, ensuring citizens' safety, and the normal functioning of enterprises, a state of emergency and a curfew have been declared by decree of the Supreme Soviet. People are forbidden to appear on the streets from 2300 to 0400 in the morning. It is forbidden to hold strikes

and street processions. It is forbidden to use duplicating equipment. The movement of transport is banned without special passes. It is, of course, forbidden to keep weapons. Needless to say, during the curfew, it will be possible to walk on the streets with special passes. For that purpose, enterprise managers are required to submit special lists by 1400 today. The appeal stresses that making this decision was no simple matter. The government hoped that it would be possible to introduce order without this measure and that common sense would prevail. But that didn't happen; all measures were exhausted. A choice had to be made: Either the raging of extremism, or law and order and a return to normality.

The moving of troops into the city began at night. Provocations were arranged in their path. The fighters [boyeviki] opened fire on the servicemen. The military were obliged to return fire. Firing could be heard from various districts of the city. According to the information at my disposal, there are dead and wounded.

Troops continued to be brought into the town up to the very last minute. The exchange of fire died down 3 hours ago now. Armored personnel carriers are now stationed in the streets. I passed alongside cordons of soldiers in the central square. There are many patrols. The soldiers are wearing bullet-proof vests and helmets. A few hours ago I saw a rally taking place in the square before the Party Central Committee. There are also soldiers there.

It has to be said that by yesterday the situation in Baku had become strained to the limit. Representatives of the People's Front had blockaded the buildings of the Party Central Committee and the republican state television and radio. The papers were not published yesterday and surface transport did not function. Many enterprises were not in operation either. The troops in the city were also blockaded in their positions. The streets were barricaded by heavy trucks.

In the evening, radio and television programs were interrupted. On the radio, an announcer asked residents not to panic; a breakdown [avariya] had occurred. As I have said, the radio is now continuing to function. But there is no television as yet. I visited the television center. Substantial damage has been inflicted on its power unit, the heart of its power system. The windows have been smashed, equipment buckled, and transmitters damaged. I don't know how long the repairs will take, but, you know, the heavy air-conditioning units that had been on the premises had been thrown several dozen meters clear of the building. Now I can hear that the radio is again broadcasting the declaration, the statement of the military commandant. He asks the citizens of Baku to keep the peace.

TASS Updates Transcaucasian Situation

19 Jan

*LD1901135890 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1247 GMT 19 Jan 90*

[Text] Moscow, 19 Jan (TASS)—Special TASS correspondents report: The situation in Azerbaijan and

Armenia remains extremely tense: Psychosis among the population continues to be fanned, while public appeals to put a halt to the illegal actions are being ignored. As a TASS correspondent was told at the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs today, attempts are made to frustrate the redeployment of the internal troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and Soviet Army units.

The total number of people who have lost their lives in both republics amounts to 72—according to data spanning the period of between 11 January and the end of day on 18 January. One hundred and three people have been detained for crimes committed during the events in the territories of both republics.

One hundred and forty three trains, including 115 which were en route to Armenia are standing idle on Azerbaijani Railway tracks. Both republics cite completely different reasons. In Azerbaijan this is explained by the blockade of the section of the railway that crosses Armenian territory, the section through which passes freight both for Nakhichevan Oblast of Azerbaijan and for Armenia. However, it is stated in Armenia that transportation routes are blocked by Azerbaijanis.

Over the past 24 hours, 2,591 people have left the territory of Azerbaijan (chiefly persons of Armenian nationality). In total, as of today, around 14,000 Armenians have been evacuated from Baku by air and sea transport.

A rally is being held today near the building of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, at which demands are being voiced for the withdrawal of troops from Baku and for their deployment in the NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] and the rayons bordering Armenia. The introduction of a curfew, the speakers say, will have unforeseeable consequences. The demand is being put forward for the resignation of the leadership of the republic. Similar rallies have taken place in several other cities of the republic.

In the capital of Azerbaijan, the movement of public transport is still blocked, and many industrial enterprises are working irregularly.

Provocations in the border rayons continue. The USSR state border was breached in the Dzhalilabad rayon of Azerbaijan along a 50-km stretch. Border guards did not use weapons.

There is no lessening of tension in Nagorno-Karabakh. In Stepanakert, the administrative center of this autonomous oblast, a detachment of armed guerillas seized four members of an Internal Affairs department. Measures are being taken to release them.

Over the past 24 hours, armed attacks in Armenia against internal affairs bodies and on other facilities, aimed at acquiring weapons, have continued. On 18 January alone, over 200 various weapons were seized by extremists.

As a TASS correspondent reported from Yerevan, according to data of the republican operations' commission, as of 18 January there are over 4,000 refugees in Yerevan, and 5,000 people have accumulated in the city of Krasnovodsk, situated on the Caspian shore opposite Baku, where they were conveyed by ferry.

Supreme Soviet Declares State of Emergency

LD2001024790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0210 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 20 Jan (TASS)—The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet has passed a decree "On the Introduction of a State of Emergency [chrezvychaynoye polozheniye] in the city of Baku." The decree states: "In connection with the sharp deterioration of the situation in the city of Baku and the attempts by criminal extremist forces to remove the legitimately operating State organs from power by violence and by organizing mass unrest, and in the interests of protecting the safety of citizens, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, guided by Point 14 of Article 119 of the USSR Constitution, decrees:

"That a state of emergency be declared from 20 January 1990 in the city of Baku, and that the operation of the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet of 15 January 1990 be extended to its territory."

The decree is signed by M. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Troops To Replace Reservists in Transcaucasia

LD1901145390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1420 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 19 Jan (TASS)—TASS special correspondent reports:

Soviet Army reservists who have in the last few days been drafted for military service in connection with the acute exacerbation of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict in Transcaucasia will shortly be replaced by regular Soviet troops, and by 24 January they will return home. This was told to a TASS correspondent today by Army General Aleksey Lizichev, chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy.

He noted that the drafting of the reservists was an enforced but necessary measure. The fact is, despite the declaration of a state of emergency in Nagorno-Karabakh and certain other regions of Azerbaijan and Armenia, the situation there has not improved. Therefore, to bring certain Transcaucasian Military District units up to full strength, the drafting of reservists from the Krasnodar and Stavropol Krays and Rostov Oblast (southern Russia) was carried out.

The purpose of the draft, General Lizichev said, is that as members of the district's troops, they would take part in protecting important installations, railroads, bridges,

tunnels, and airports, and also in protecting citizens from the criminal actions of extremist forces.

According to information, as of 18 January, there are 24,000 military servicemen of the Internal Troops and Soviet Army units in Azerbaijan and Armenia.

General Shustko Says Reservists To Return Home

*LD1901173390 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1530 GMT 19 Jan 90*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Here is some information from Stavropol. Pavel Guskov, head of our correspondent point in that city, has just reported from there. This afternoon, the Stavropol radio transmitted several times an interview with Colonel-General Lev Sergeyevich Shustko, commander of the Red Banner North Caucasian Military Okrug, prepared by a correspondent of the Rostov-na-Donu Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting. We wish to inform radio listeners that he speaks at the instruction of Comrade Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, the report said.

Comrade Shustko, okrug commander, said that the deployment of sub-units of the reserve in the Transcaucasus has ensured the fulfillment of urgent tasks. In this connection, the conscripted reservists will be returned to their home in the next 5 days, as they are being replaced with professional sub-units of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry and the Defense Ministry, as well as of the USSR State Security Committee and law enforcement bodies. The transfer to the Transcaucasus of reservists who have been conscripted but who are still at the call-up points is also being halted.

Transcaucasus Conscripts Return to Stavropol

*LD2101153490 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1507 GMT 21 Jan 90*

[Text] Mineral'nyye Vody (Stavropol kray), 21 Jan (TASS)—Mineral'nyye Vody airport, the main airport in Stavropol Kray, is meeting reserve conscripts, who were temporarily called up from towns and villages in the kray to rayons in the Transcaucasus where a state of emergency has been declared. The reservists consider that the measures taken in accordance with the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree are extraordinary but vitally necessary.

The arrival of another group of people from Stavropol'ye who were temporarily called up is expected at the airport today on a flight from Yerevan. There has been thick fog around the runway since early morning. A center for meeting the reservists has been organized near the airport.

Army Reservists to Return Home by 24 January

*LD2001192590 Moscow TASS in English 1922 GMT
20 Jan 90*

[Text] Moscow January 20 TASS—The personnel, called up from the reserve recently, will return to their places of residence by the end of January 24 [as received], TASS correspondent was told in the USSR Defence Ministry. The planned return began on January 20.

Gen Lizichev Views Use of Troops in Armenia

*LD1901191690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1630 GMT 19 Jan 90*

[Text] The situation in the republic has been described as extremely tense by the operational commission of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Council of Ministers of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]. It has been reported there that whereas until recently the Azeri guerillas have limited themselves to armed attacks against Armenian villages in the Azerbaijani SSR, on 18 January they crossed the Armenian border as well. At 1530 local time, a group of guerrillas from Ilyichevskiy Rayon of Nakhichevanskiy Autonomous SSR attacked the Armenian border settlement of Yeraskh, 70 km from Yerevan, and fired at the winery. Three people died and four were wounded.

This morning Araratskiy Rayon, where the shooting went on all night, was joined by Idzhevskiy Rayon, where villages came under attack by guerillas from Kazakhskiy Rayon of Azerbaijan.

A severe situation has arisen with regard to refugees, over 4,000 of whom have already arrived in Yerevan's Zvartnots Airport. These are mainly elderly and sick people. More than 170 of the sick, some of whom are wounded, are under care in Yerevan's clinics.

Apart from the reception and placement of this new wave of refugees, the operational commission is having to think about organizing old folks homes as well, since many of the Armenians driven out of Baku are helpless and lonely people.

The situation at the Norashen and Idzhevan railway junctions has remained unchanged. In the past 24 hours not a single train has arrived in Armenia, putting out of action one of the republic's main supply lines for food, industrial goods, fuel, construction materials, component parts, raw materials, and other items. There are now almost 400 trains with freight for Armenia standing idle on the north Caucasus railways and other railway divisions in the country.

The press center of the Yerevan department of the Transcaucasian Railway has announced that all the efforts to restore rail links are failing to produce results. Due to the shortage of electricity, component parts, and

raw and processed materials, almost all industrial enterprises in Yerevan have virtually come to a standstill and work has ceased at the city's building sites.

A serious situation has developed in the disaster zone. Hundreds of workers and engineering staff from Moscow, Leningrad, Novosibirsk, and other cities and union republics who are in Leninakan, Kirovakan, Spitak and other areas hit by the earthquake, are furious with indignation over the blockade of Armenia. They are demanding that resolute measures be taken to finally restore rail links and that those who are preventing the normalization of the situation in Transcaucasia be called to order. [Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 1631 GMT transmits a report similar to this one, which adds the following: "Fourteen trains consisting of 281 cars arrived in Armenia from Georgia yesterday"]

Army General Lizichev, head of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy, at the request of a TASS correspondent, spoke on what is being done to stabilize the situation.

The situation in Azerbaijan and Armenia is described rather fully in the address of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers to the people of these republics. In spite of the fact that on 15 January a USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree declaring a state of emergency in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and some other rayons was published, the situation has not improved. In connection with this, there has been a call up of some reserve servicemen from Krasnodar and Stavropol Krays and Rostov Oblast to bring up to full strength some units of the Transcaucasian military. The purpose of the call up is for part of the district troops to take part in defending important facilities, sections of railways, bridges, tunnels, and airports, as well as to protect citizens from the criminal actions of the extremist forces, sowing grief and misfortune for ordinary people.

In these conditions the call-up of those liable for military service was a forced measure, albeit a necessary one, since it is a question of people's destiny and ensuring order in our Soviet home. At present, those called up from the reserve are part of the troops of the Transcaucasian Military District. Their political and moral state is healthy and firm. They are there temporarily. In a few days, those called up from the reserve will be replaced by regular forces and by 24 January they will have been sent back home to their families.

We are grateful to the servicemen of the reserve; Army General Lizichev stressed, for their punctual arrival at the assembly points and their high organization and discipline, both during their journey to the places of the units' deployment and while performing their service duties.

Baku Troops Fire Warning Shots; Talks 'Fruitless'

*PM1901202390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
20 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 1*

[Telephone dispatch from special correspondent Viktor Litovkin: "Blockaded City"]

[Excerpts] Baku, 19 Jan—Confrontation. It hits you in the eye as soon as you approach any troop unit in Baku. Here, too, outside the gate of the Salyanskiy barracks, tens and hundreds of people are standing day and night. They hold rallies and keep camp fires burning. They talk with the soldiers and officers. They hand them type-written leaflets.

The approach roads to the unit are obstructed with heavy trucks, buses, and refrigerator trucks: a blockade. Two disabled "KamAZ" trucks with trailers (with license plates from Mzhaysk and Azerbaijan) are stuck on the territory of the military camp. How did they get there? No one will explain that now... [passage omitted]

...Trucks carrying soldiers returned to the unit. They drove up to the gates, but the gates were barricaded by the "KamAZ" trucks. People behind "moved up" another few heavy trucks. They blocked the way out, as though closing a mousetrap. The commander of the sub-unit summoned a tractor to clear the obstruction. But then an excited crowd turned up and rushed "into the attack." The crowd did not respond to demands to show some sense and to stop. Moreover, shots rang out. In the heat of the moment no one could tell what it was—a hunting rifle, a shotgun? And the officer, defending himself and the soldiers, gave orders for weapons to be used. A warning round over the head of the crowd caused it to disperse. This time there was no tragedy.

But tragedy was not far away, it was just around the corner.

What was this—a test of strength, an attempt to jangle the soldiers' nerves, or simply a provocation? I don't know. But I think that such actions may cost people their lives. This is the real price of extremism.

Some units of the Baku Garrison have been transferred to cover the destroyed state border, and others are arriving to take their place. But these units are not being allowed into the city. Hundreds of people are blockaded at the airfield.

"The situation is extremely grave," Senior Lieutenant O. Sayenko says. "We were roused five times for alerts this past night. An exchange of fire, an attack on an apartment, or an attempt to seize weapons."

Oleg described how in the settlement of Binagady outside Baku a group of twenty or so people had fired on a patrol in an attempt to capture weapons. The assault troops repulsed the attack. Private A. Siyanov and Private First Class A. Grebenshchikov particularly distinguished themselves. But on the way back to the unit

people surrounded them, blocked the road, and demanded that they surrender their assault rifles. Through the efforts of Senior Lieutenant I. Khvoy-nitskiy, the incident did not develop into a bloody skirmish. [passage omitted]

Yesterday evening E. Mamedov, member of the Azerbaijan People's Front Board and member of the National Defense Council, and S. Alysharly, member of the editorial collegium of the People's Front paper AZADLYG, asked Major General V. Sokolov, commander of the Baku Garrison, for a meeting. The meeting took place. Your IZVESTIYA correspondent was also present at it. It is impossible to give a detailed account of almost 2 hours of discussion in this dispatch. I will merely report that, unfortunately, it was fruitless: mutual understanding on lifting the blockade of military camps was not reached.

So the confrontation continues.

Vremya Interviews Soldiers Kidnapped in NKAO

LD2001180290 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1530 GMT 20 Jan 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Today, comrades, we received a report from our special correspondent Aleksandr Barkhatov from the special region of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]

[Begin recording] [Barkhatov] A week ago several servicemen of the internal troops were taken hostage in Khanlarskiy Rayon of Azerbaijan. This story gave rise to countless rumors. As chance would have it, our film group was near the participants in this event literally an hour before it happened. You are looking at these pictures now. [video shows soldiers in barracks; armed civilians standing outside buildings; crew entering and moving off in BMP personnel carrier with airborne troops' insignia]

The boys were going out on combat duty. In a narrow mountain pass an initially peaceable crowd, in which people in militia uniforms could be glimpsed, surrounded the vehicle. The commander attempted to find out who these people were, and at this point a grenade was held over an open hatch, and from the rock-face automatic rifles were pointed down at the soldiers sitting on the armor. The group surrendered its weapons. Incidentally, we were only able to clarify all these events after the boys returned.

[First soldier] Well, of course, let me add that all in all, there would have been enough ammunition to use the weapons. First of all, there would have been large casualties among the Azerbaijani population. Hundreds of people would have been killed. Of course there would have been large losses on our side, too. For example, they

made the soldiers get out by poking knife spears into their flak jackets, they were threatening physical violence.

[Second soldier] They were shooting right under our feet so that the ricochet nearly hit us, and they threw a firecracker right at our feet.

[First soldier] When we came down from the pass, through the village of Khanlar, there were gallows set up along the road.

[Third soldier] It is as if this is not the Soviet Union, as if one is not at home, as if this is going on somewhere abroad, not in our country. Hell knows. [as heard] I could not even believe that such things could happen here.

[Barkhatov] Was it easy for you to pass the boundary of shooting at people?

[Fourth soldier] Of course it is difficult. Well, how can you kill a person?

[Correspondent] Boys, why don't you write home?

[First soldier] You are hardly going to write to your mother every month that there was this real combat operation; that, for example, at New Year you did not meet for a cup of tea, but you met an automatic rifle on a rock-face. You are not going to write to your parents about that. Usually you write, Hello, everything is fine with me, I am alive and well, I am relaxing in a resort, in the fresh air.

[Fourth soldier] In the mountains.

[Fifth soldier] Lovely nature.

[First soldier] Lovely nature, lovely mountains. That's it.

[Third soldier] I just wrote, Mom, don't believe what they write in the newspapers or what they show on television. It is all just sensationalism. What is going on here, I say, is that everything is all right, calm, and that's all. [video shows soldiers dressed in airborne troops fatigues being interviewed in barracks] [end recording]

[Announcer] Maybe some people really will judge the story of this event to be television's pursuit of sensation. I think, however, there is a deeper point to it: a clear illustration of the fact that the army—to its credit—is not becoming a blunt repressive force, even in the situation of a state of emergency. It is not a blind wall of shields and batons, but people taking a risk for the sake of others. [video shows soldiers sleeping in barracks with rifles stacked nearby]

Troops Liaise With Rayon 'Defense Councils'

PM2001195490 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 21 Jan 90 First Edition p 1

[Special correspondent Captain 3d Rank A. Orlov report: "Azerbaijan: Just One Night"]

[Excerpts] Baku, 20 Jan—On the night of 19-20 January, Baku experienced difficult and dramatic hours. It is still hard to picture fully the events that unfolded here. It can only be said that the imposition of the state of emergency entailed deaths and injuries both for the forces of law and order implementing it and for the extremist forces, the militants.

I spent the evening of 19 January with a crowd of people in front of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee building. They were brought in by city buses, on one of which I saw the inscription: "People's Front." After 1800 hours, television and local radio stopped broadcasting in the republic. An explosion at the television center put the power unit out of action for a long time.

At that time, two demands were predominant in the square: The resignation of the government and the withdrawal of troops. At the unceasing rallies, there were calls for the violent overthrow of the authorities and Azerbaijan's secession from the USSR. There were threats of reprisals.

In these conditions the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium was forced to make use of the extreme measure for which the law provides—to declare a state of emergency in Baku. Military units were brought into the city.

At 0015 hours local time, the internal troops operations group received an alert: Soldiers are being fired on near the V.I. Lenin Stadium. One man had been injured and the nearest unit was unable to provide medical assistance: The ambulance had been blockaded. Along with a lieutenant in the medical service whose name, in my haste, I did not even manage to note, I set off for the district in question in an ambulance from the republic Ministry of Internal Affairs. [passage omitted]

Virtually all the troop subunits had difficulty in crossing obstructions in the roads as they entered the city or left their stations within the city. The militants did not shun the use of weapons.

At that time workers from the internal troops political directorate made telephone contact with the Nizaminskiy Rayon "defense council," which belongs to the Azerbaijan People's Front. The firefight was particularly intensive in that rayon. Lieutenant Colonel Yu. Streltsov spoke with the "council" leadership on behalf of the command. I quote his words verbatim:

[Streltsov] "I am a representative of the troops, and I appeal to you, to your prudence, your feelings as a citizen, your manly and human dignity. On behalf of the troops' commands, I want you to stop the unnecessary bloodshed."

[Answer] "We will fight to the last drop of blood...."

[Streltsov] "I repeat: Stop shooting. Do not plunge people into a criminal—I emphasize, criminal—adventure. Hundreds could be killed.... Comrade, friend,

give the command not to shed innocent blood. Think about it, reconsider. How old are you? You have children, a wife, sisters...."

After a silence on the other end of the line, the reply came at last:

"OK...."

Minutes of agonizing waiting. The shooting did not begin to die down in that rayon until half an hour later. But here, they heeded the voice of reason. Soon after, it became known that another rayon "defense council" had also been in contact with the military. The "council" members had used their own transport to take the command personnel of one of the internal troop directorates from a blockaded district to the Azerbaijan Communist Party raykom [rayon committee] building to exercise leadership of patrol and post duties.

At about 0400 hours Lieutenant General V. Dubinyak issued a command to his subunits: Allow people without weapons who are making for the district of the square to pass, and remain polite. The order to use weapons only in the event of attacks on details, patrols, or subunits remains in force.

Information on the dead and wounded continued to come in from the localities. As of 0400 hours the internal troops had one dead and seven with firearm wounds. It is also known that a doctor on one of the city's ambulances that was carrying casualties was killed.

The latest figures, according to not entirely verified information: Among the servicemen, there are seven dead and more than 40 wounded. There are six officers and two warrant officers among the wounded. I do not yet know about the losses among the extremists. It is not possible to verify this information, because for the most part the city's hospitals are not answering the telephone.

At 0600 hours the local radio read out an appeal from the Baku City military commandant to the population, informing people of the imposition of a curfew in the city from 2300 hours on 20 January. Lieutenant General V. Dubinyak has been appointed military commandant, by order of the USSR minister of internal affairs.

Caucasus Soldiers Deserting To Defend Homes

PM2001211490 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 21 Jan 90 First Edition p 4

[Interview with Major General of Justice Vladimir Ilich Vasilyev, deputy chief military prosecutor, by correspondent Lieutenant Colonel S. Kalinayev under the rubric "Prosecutor Comments on the Facts": "They Will Be Held Accountable"—date, place of interview not given]

[Text] [Kalinayev] Vladimir Ilich, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has reported that in the Transcaucasian republics there are individual soldiers and even groups of servicemen on compulsory service who have left their military units without leave in order to "defend their

own people." Does the Chief Military Prosecutor's Office have concrete facts at its disposal?

[Vasilyev] Yes, we have the facts. Certain individuals drafted into the Armed Forces from Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan recently, in the context of the deterioration in the situation and in response to appeals from leaders of various informal associations and organizations, have been leaving their place of service without leave and joining self-defense detachments as combatants.

[Kalinayev] Can you give the number of servicemen who have left their military units?

[Vasilyev] As far as individuals of the Caucasian nationalities are concerned, at present the phenomena in question have been noted in 17 military districts. But all the same, the greatest number is accounted for by units and subunits stationed in the Transcaucasus. At present 419 of these people have been reported. In total, taken together with the other districts, the number of "runaways" is 772.

I would like to add that recently, against the background of calls for the creation of national military formations and demands for young people to be able to carry out their compulsory military service in their native districts, we are seeing cases of mass refusals by young people due to be drafted. In the period of the fall draft last year 6,603 people refused to present themselves at the military commissariats. Criminal proceedings have been brought against the majority of them.

[Kalinayev] How do those who have refused to serve in the Transcaucasus come to have weapons in their possession?

[Vasilyev] The press has indicated the channels by which weapons leak out. Various detachments obtain weapons by means of robbery and raids on militia organs, paramilitary security forces, schools, higher educational establishments, and also servicemen and military units. These are the weapons and ammunition that the self-defense detachments supply to the "runaways," who could now be called ex-soldiers.

[Kalinayev] They, like the detachments of combatants in general, operate under the banner of the defense of their people and their native land, seeing this as some justification for their action. What would your legal assessment of such actions be?

[Vasilyev] Let me begin by answering in broader terms. The very fact of the creation of armed formations for attacks on various state and social institutions and organizations and citizens is defined in law as banditry, for which strict criminal accountability is stipulated—from 3 to 15 years imprisonment, with confiscation of property, or even the death penalty.

Regarding soldiers on compulsory service who have left their units without leave, their actions can be considered

under various articles of the criminal law on accountability for military crimes. Firstly, for leaving their unit without leave, the stipulated punishment is up to 5 years or up to 7 years, depending on the length of time spent away from the unit. Or it could be defined as desertion. Those who evade justice under the patronage of informal organizations should realize that sooner or later, legal measures will inevitably be adopted against them.

[Kalinayev] How are the commanding officers and organs of the military prosecutor's office acting at present?

[Vasilyev] They are firmly and consistently seeking and detaining the "runaways." Some have already been brought to book. By a decision of the prosecutor's offices, they are arrested and held in custody, and are taken under guard to the place where the investigation is being carried out. In this connection, in the present extremely complex situation we are enlisting the command personnel of military units, military commissariats, and military commandant's offices to carry out these tasks.

It would clearly be appropriate to recall here that every citizen, on joining the ranks of the USSR Armed Forces, takes the military oath under which he is held constitutionally accountable for the fulfillment of his military duty.

Armenian Home Guard Repels Attack

LD2001232190 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 20 Jan 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] On the whole an alarming situation continues to exist in Yerevan and Armenia. There are still cases of thefts of weapons, ammunition, and explosives. The headquarters of a so-called People's Home Guard (narodnoye opolcheniye) is located in the center of Yerevan and is operating there. They have both weapons and hardware, as you can see. All of this has been seized against the owners' will and of course violently, one has to suppose.

[Correspondent V. Nazaryan] The existence of a volunteer people's army may seem to some people to be extremism, and to others merely a child's game. It could be that, too, if it were not for the situation. That, let us say plainly, has turned out to be far more serious. [video shows hardware including a multipurpose tracked vehicle with guard insignia, a BTR-60 vehicle, two large field guns on 4-wheel carriage, a smaller field gun, trucks, and a tanker truck, surrounded by civilians, many armed with hunting rifles]

It happened yesterday a mere 60 km from Yerevan. An armed attack was carried out from Ilyichevskiy Rayon in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic on the village of Yeraskh, the first one directly against the territory of Armenia. It was precisely the self-defense

detachments that, acting together with the troops, were able to hold back this new bandit attack, unfortunately not without bloodshed. There are dead and wounded. [video shows armed civilians and troops standing and running near a border-style gate; two bright flashes crossing the sky; ambulances driving along a road]

That was yesterday. Today the leaders of the People's Home Guard began handing over the weapons and military hardware to the owners from whom they had been seized.

[R.A. Vasilyan, home guard member] I came back from the border yesterday evening. Since there are no Azerbaijanis there, the troops are stationed there, they seem to have imposed order. If the troops are going to impose order, there is nothing for us to do. For this reason we will return the hardware.

[V.R. Akolyan, home guard member] The government has now started taking measures to help our people. If not, we will do what we are doing now, and we will stand on guard even more forcefully. [video shows Soviet Army officer talking among civilian crowd and then leaving in a military truck driven by a civilian]

Provisional Defense Body Keeps Order in Lenkoran

PM2201091190 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jan 90 p 1

[A. Krayniy report under general heading "Transcaucasia, 18 January. The Situation Has Deteriorated Over the Past 24 Hours"]

[Text]

Lenkoran

Since 11 January there have been no Soviet authorities in the city. Handwritten notices on administrative buildings read: "Entry permitted only by authorization of the defense committee." Militiamen guard the entrance to the rayon militia department. Only the duty officer and his assistant who guard the armory room are allowed in. Public order in the city is maintained by the provisional defense committee. Not a single crime has been committed in the city during the past week. All enterprises are operating and all stores with the exception of stores selling alcohol are open. The bazaar is also trading.

The provisional defense committee has declared that it will hand over power as soon as the central organs in the country and the republic adopt specific decisions to protect the honor, dignity, and sovereignty of the Azerbaijani people and the republic's territorial integrity. And there is one more demand—to abolish autonomy in Nagorno-Karabakh, establishing rayons under the jurisdiction of the republic's central organs.

"Even when we hand over power, the first secretary will no longer be able to talk to people as he did before," Aga Guseyn Rzayev told me.

Lizichev Says NKAO Situation 'Deteriorating'

LD1901214790 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Interview with Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Main Political Administration of the Army and Navy, by unidentified correspondent on 19 January; place not given; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Aleksey Dmitriyevich, first of all one naturally would like to know about the latest news from the Transcaucasia. I mean Baku, Yerevan, and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region [NKAO].

[Lizichev] If one is to speak today, about today, then this situation not only remains the same; but is also deteriorating. That is to put things in the most brief manner, so to speak. If one compares things with just 4 days ago, that is 15 January when the order of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium about declaring a state of emergency in the Nagorno-Karabakh Oblast and in certain other rayons was published, then one must say frankly that the situation has been aggravated, especially in Azerbaijan. The militant hoodlums, the criminal elements, and the extremist elements are behaving impudently—let us say it openly. They are sowing not only ethnic strife but also are bringing grief and misfortune to ordinary Soviet people. There are incidents of threats being made to servicemen.

[Correspondent] Seizure of weapons?

[Lizichev] Weapons have been captured. There are incidents of distribution of various kinds of leaflets, of calls to join them, and of threats even to servicemen, of blockading columns of troop units, of blockading airfields etc. In brief, the situation is complex, tense, and one has to reckon with this.

[Correspondent] In connection with this, I would like you to clarify the problem of calling up reservists. We are receiving telegrams and telephone calls.

[Lizichev] So as to fully bring up to strength some of our units in the Red Banner Transcaucasian Military District, reserve personnel with a military service obligation from the Krasnodar and Stavropol Krays and also from Rostov Oblast were called up. They are located there on a temporary basis. It is intended that in the next few days they will be replaced with a complement of regular troops, and by 24 January they will be returned home to their families.

[Correspondent] So this is a temporary measure.

[Lizichev] Yes, temporary. They will be returned home by 24 January.

[Correspondent] Aleksey Dmitriyevich, is it possible somehow to forecast the events which are developing there?

[Lizichev] I think that today the situation has become so aggravated that tough measures must be taken in respect of these extremists, of these bandits who literally are terrorizing people. It is necessary to take the toughest of measures.

Internal Affairs Press Center Reports

Updates Transcaucasus Developments

PM1901170990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
20 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: "USSR Internal Affairs Ministry Press Center Reports"]

[Excerpts] Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]—[Passage omitted] In the city of Masally 18 January a crowd picketed the local rayon internal affairs department [ROVD] building for 2 hours, demanding that militia workers relinquish their powers. A thousands-strong rally was held in front of the buildings of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium in Baku over the course of several hours; its participants demanded the resignation of the republic government and the repeal of the 15 January decree. Similar rallies have been held in a number of other cities in the republic. [Passage omitted]

In the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast a detachment of armed militants seized four employees of Shushinskiy ROVD. Internal affairs organ workers are taking measures to establish the attackers' identities and to detain them.

A number of population centers in Lachinskiy and Kazakhskiy Rayons were fired on with automatic weapons from Armenia. [Passage omitted]

Armenian SSR—Armed attacks are continuing on places where weapons are kept. On 18 January 8 raids were made on ROVD's, 10 on militarized guard installations, and 7 on arms and ammunition depots. In Gorisskiy Rayon an armed group fired on the ROVD building, burst into inner rooms, and used grenades to blow open the door into the armory. As a result, 70 Kalashnikov training submachineguns, 88 rifles, and rounds for them were stolen. In Ashtarakskiy Rayon persons unknown stole approximately 600 kg of explosives. In Artashatskiy Rayon an antihail rocket launcher with 150 shells was seized. In all, approximately 200 units of weapons were stolen in 24 hours.

A thousands-strong rally was held in Yerevan's Theater Square, and its participants condemned the organizers of outrages in the name of the Armenian people and called for efforts to be pooled with the law-enforcement organs to stabilize the situation. [Passage omitted]

MVD Reports Updated Data

LD1901132690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1200 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] The press service of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] reports from Baku:

In the last 24 hours the situation in the republic remained complicated and tense. According to updated data from the investigative bodies, 196 pogroms have been registered in the city of Baku since the start of events. On 18 January, there were four more deaths among those who were wounded earlier and taken to hospital.

Law enforcement bodies are focusing their attention on stabilizing the situation and eliminating the consequences of the mass disorders. Eight more people, who were determined to have participated in these, were detained on 18 January. The organized evacuation of people of Armenian nationality from Baku continues. Over 2,500 people were evacuated by air and water transport in the past 24 hours, and the total since the start of events is over 13,000.

During the last 24 hours, 10 roads and highways were blocked in order to hinder the movement of units of internal troops of the USSR MVD and the Soviet Army. Up to 5,000 people took part in these actions. As a result, public transport is not working smoothly in the city, and there have been work stoppages at individual enterprises.

Yesterday in Baku, a rally outside the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan building was attended by many thousands of people, including representatives of various informal trends. No violations of public order were recorded. Similar meetings also took place in Kubatly, Chaldash, Kyurdamir, Dzhulfay (Ordubay), Sumgait, and several other towns.

At about 0100 on 18 January, Kubatlynskiy rayon command officials halted a certain "M", dressed in the uniform of a colonel of special purpose troops. He was found to be carrying a 1981 model Nagant revolver with three cartridges, and cartridges for a small-caliber rifle. "P" was also detained. A signal pistol with 18 flares were confiscated from him. An investigation has begun.

Despite the decrease in tension, the situation remains complicated in Khanlarskiy and Shaumyanskiy rural rayons. The situation is being kept under observation.

22 Jan Update

PM2101174090 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
22 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 1

["USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Press Center Reports"—IZVESTIYA headline]

[Text] Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]—On 20 January subunits of the Soviet Army and internal troops, after clearing the blockades from the military

camps, redeployed and occupied their assigned positions in Baku. Measures are being adopted to stop the unrest and apprehend people participating in unlawful actions. In the last 24 hours 153 people have been arrested for suspicion of committing crimes on an interethnic basis. Among them is Sh. Agayev, leader of the Azerbaijan People's Front National Defense Committee, from whom homemade grenades were confiscated.

In Baku, local radio broadcast a speech by E. Kafarova, chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium, disagreeing with the imposition of a state of emergency in the Azerbaijani capital. At the wharf, a crowd gathered near the tanker "Ivan Zemnukhov," threatening to blow up the ship unless the troops are withdrawn from Baku. As a result of the measures adopted, the crowd was dispersed.

Extremists continue to block the railroads on the approaches to Baku. As a result it was not possible to prevent a fire at one station.

In Baku there was again a rally outside the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee building, at which the resignation of the republic's government was demanded.

In Nakhijevan, active operations by Armenian militants continue. The villages of Sadarak, Yukhary, Yaydli, and Govu are blockaded. Sadarak is entirely surrounded by armed Armenian militants in armored carriers. As a result of shots fired at the village from all kinds of weapons, there have been casualties.

In the city of Barda the city party committee [gorkom] first secretary resigned in response to a demand by People's Front leaders. In the city of Mingeaur a mass rally took place outside the party gorkom building. At the crowd's demand, the gorkom first secretary, the city soviet executive committee chairman, and the local internal affairs and KGB organs chiefs burned their party cards.

The situation remains complex in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. Not a single freight train has arrived in Stepanakert in the last 24 hours. In Shusha a rally took place in front of the party gorkom building; the participants demanded that Azerbaijani hostages be released, mixed-marriage families leave the city, and the supply of food to servicemen be cut off. Twenty people publicly burned their party documents. The People's Front flag was raised over the gorkom building.

In the last 24 hours 270 people have been detained in the republic for participation in unrest and crimes. There were no raids or arson attacks.

Armenian SSR—Armed attacks with the aim of seizing weapons continue. On 20 January 100 armed militants burst into the Abovianskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department and seized four pistols. As a result of an attack on Talinskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department,

six bulletproof vests, three portable radio stations, 45 signal rockets, and five gas masks were seized.

Work is in progress to confiscate the weapons seized earlier. Vardenisskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department workers managed to recover a mortar, an MB-21 combat vehicle, and 126 pistols.

In Krasnoselskiy Rayon a detachment of militants (about 50 people) armed with submachineguns, in three armored carriers, have been blockading the village of Artsvashen, which is inhabited by Azerbaijanis, for 24 hours. An unmarked helicopter is buzzing the village.

In the environs of Shamshadinskiy Rayon there is a gathering of Azerbaijani militants, about 1,500 people armed with submachineguns. They have hail guns in their possession.

In all, during the conflict there have been 112 attacks on weapons storage facilities in the two republics, seven of them on 20 January. A total of 258 items of weaponry, including 23 hunting guns, have been confiscated or surrendered voluntarily.

Baku Commandant Cites 83 Dead in Baku

*LD2201105190 Moscow TASS in English 1032 GMT
22 Jan 90*

[Text] Moscow January 22 TASS—By TASS special correspondents:

Eighty-three people, including 14 servicemen and members of their families perished in Baku between January 19-20, it is pointed out in a statement by Lieutenant-General Anatoliy Dubinyak, the Baku military commandant, transmitted by local radio since Monday evening. He urged the Baku population to prevent violations of public law and order and to cut short provocations.

The emergency measures announced in the city will be relaxed as the population's safety is ensured, the statement says. In order to restore order and tranquility, people illegally possessing arms have been asked to hand them in to district military commandants' offices before 9 a.m., January 24. Anyone who voluntarily hands in weapons within the announced period will not be arrested or punished, the appeal stresses.

The situation in Baku and in the Republic as a whole remains extremely tense. The military authorities continue to enforce law and order. Several military units and contingents were redeployed and stationed at assigned positions during the past 24 hours. A large group of people, suspected of grave crimes, was arrested. They include Sh. Agayev, member of the so-called "National Defence Committee" found to possess weapons. Legal action was started against him and in connection with several other cases.

Representatives of the Azerbaijan "People's Front" have voiced threats to exterminate the Udins, an ethnic group of 6,000 people living in the village of Nidj, Kutlashen district of Azerbaijan.

A. Gukasyan, deputy editor of the SOVETSKY KARABAKH newspaper (member of the so-called "Nagorno-Karabakh National Council", and A. Girgoryan, a cooperator, were arrested in Stepanakert for stirring up inter-ethnic strife.

Armenian militants opened fire on an Azerbaijani village on the border between Azerbaijan and Armenia, in the so-called Volchy Vorota area. Twelve civilians were killed. Intervention of Internal Ministry troops prevented further bloodshed.

Attacks on various targets to obtain arms continue in Armenia. In the early hours of January 21, an armed gang broke into the Abovyan district Internal Affairs Department and seized some weapons stored there. Law enforcement bodies are toughening actions against raids. Measures taken by the Vardenis district Internal Affairs Department allowed it to retrieve previously stolen weapons: a mine-thrower with Zil-130 trucks, a combat vehicle, 126 pistols and other weapons. On January 20 an armed group attacked a ground-to-air missile detachment in the area of Yerevan. The attack was repulsed.

The situation remains complicated on the state border. Azerbaijanians and Iranians continue to cross the border en masse in both directions on separate stretches of the Prishib and Lenkoran frontier.

The situation has stabilised a little on the Nakhichevan stretch of the state border. Soviet and Iranian Frontier Guard Commissars met at Astara to decide measures to ensure the state border regime.

Refugees Continue To Leave Baku 21 Jan

Arrive in Krasnovodsk

PM2101193490 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
22 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by A. Lenskiy, editor of the newspaper KRASNOVODSKIY RABOCHIY: "Refugees Arrive"]

[Text] Krasnovodsk, 21 Jan—Ferries are bringing some 2,000 people from the west to the east bank of the Caspian every day. The people are taken to the airport without delay and put on planes.

In the office of the ferry crossing chief, where a refugee aid staff is now working around the clock, I met an agitated woman: "I am Vera Glushchenko, I am a bookkeeper. I live and work in Krasnovodsk. Four days ago I received a telegram from the Ter-Grigoryants family in Baku, saying that they were leaving on the ferry *Sovetskiy Tadzhikistan*. But they are not here yet. I want to know what has happened to them."

Things like this happen, too. On the ferry *Sovetskaya Kalmykiya* two people were found to have died—a man and a woman, aged 85-90. Their photographs are displayed on the ferry office building. Perhaps one of the refugees may come looking for his lost parents, but alas, they are no longer living.

And another thing. IZVESTIYA's correspondents' post in Ashkhabad and our city newspaper's editorial office are receiving appeals from citizens: Can we cross by car to Baku by ferry, in order to travel on from there?

"Yes," L. Golovko, chief of the maritime commercial port, replies, "the Krasnovodsk-Baku ferry crossing is operating continuously. Trains, trucks, and cars are being transported on every ferry."

Demand Housing in Moscow

LD1901193390 Moscow TASS in English 1925 GMT
19 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 19 TASS—An Il-86 jet with about 250 Armenian refugees on board has been standing for over 30 hours in the Moscow Vnukovo Airport. The Armenians, who have fled Baku, demand that the authorities provide them with housing in Moscow.

The pogroms and outrages that began in Azerbaijan late last week prompted the Armenians to escape. They were evacuated on a ferry boat to Krasnovodsk, then took a plane to Yerevan and later to Moscow. They arrived in the Soviet capital at about 1300 [1000 GMT] on Thursday.

In Yerevan the Armenians were offered residences in rural areas, but they refused, saying that they had lived their lives in Azerbaijan, did not know Armenian and had no experience in agriculture.

As the jet landed in Moscow, about 40 out of its 300 passengers went to relatives or friends who live in Moscow. Others are still aboard the jet and are demanding housing in the capital.

However, it is very difficult to satisfy their demand as tens of thousands of Moscow families are now in need of housing.

"Yerevan is overflowing with refugees. We thought that only the centre would be able to help us. So we came to Moscow," Vazgen Ambartsumov, 60, told TASS. "We need only housing. We can find jobs ourselves."

Army Families, Civilians Evacuated From Baku

PM2101205090 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
22 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Telephone report from special correspondents Viktor Litovkin and Sergey Mostovshchikov in Baku: "Under the Protection of Armored Carriers"]

[Text] Baku, 21 January—Early morning—Shots can still be heard in some parts of the city. Today a group of paratroopers under the leadership of Senior Lieutenant Aleksandr Yefentyev removed two snipers from roofs in Krasnyy Vostok housing district and destroyed a machinegun emplacement on the cupola of an ancient temple. Six militants were entrenched there... The officer and his subordinate, Sergeant Sergey Samburskiy, received minor injuries, but are still on active duty. Alas, there is plenty of work for them in Baku now.

The group went out on operations again. The objective of these subunits' operations is not only to block the militants' actions, but also to evacuate servicemen's families, who are now in serious danger. After the sharp deterioration in the situation in Baku and the imposition of the state of emergency, the decision was adopted to evacuate servicemen's families from the city. The blockade has been lifted from military units, and today it has become possible to assemble women and children on the territory of military camps. And not only officers' families, but all those who now want to leave the city. And there are many of them, too.

Things are difficult for everyone in the city today. But a particular word about the children. Many have not been to school for weeks now—their parents were afraid to let them out in the streets: looting, bloodshed...

"When my eldest, 6-year-old Vitya, asked: 'Mom, when will they come and evacuate us?' I did not know what to say," X-ray laboratory technician Yelena Chebunina says. "Then I tried to reassure my son: No one will do us any harm here. But my blood ran cold. My husband, like all the military, is on permanent standby at the barracks. There is not a single man in our apartment block. It is terrible. The only thing you can think about is: Where to hide the children if something happened..."

The men—officers and warrant officers—said the same. How can you serve, how can you fulfill your duty, if all the time you are wondering: What is happening at home now?

...We went to the settlement of Musabekova with an armored assault group headed by Lieutenant Pavel Sokurov. Our task—to collect officers' families. The infantry combat vehicle scrapes its tracks along the tarmac and rumbles along the streets. But the streets are empty now. Everywhere you see signs of these terrible days: black mourning flags on the lampposts, barricades swept aside onto the roadsides and sidewalks. Armored carriers stand at the intersections. All around are patrols of servicemen on guard here.

In the city, where a state of emergency has been declared, there is a 3-day mourning period. But alas, not even this has stopped the bloodshed...

At last we reach the district we seek. Some soldiers climb up to the upper apartments to help bring out possessions, others maintain defense near the combat vehicles.

"Necessary measures," Pavel Sokurov explains, "My comrade Senior Lieutenant Arkadiy Sadovskiy was bringing out people near the Salyut Hotel a few hours ago under fire. His subordinates, Privates Kudryavtsev and Marchenko, were wounded there. We too came under attack on our last sortie."

He shows me the bullet marks on the armored vehicle, and adds:

"The extremists are fighting for power, but innocent people suffer."

The armored carrier of Senior Warrant Officer Ye. Ageyev, chief of a sound broadcasting station, was also engaged today and yesterday in bringing women and children out of the zone being fired on by militants. Yevgeniy brought out 12 families! The warrant officer did excellent work—no one was hurt.

The evacuated women and children were placed in the unit staff's offices and the political department. The officers took the desks and telephones out into the corridor. Of course, there is not enough room. There are not enough beds, mattresses, or other articles. People are sleeping on chairs. It is particularly difficult for women with small babies. Naturally, every effort is made to make them as comfortable as possible. But in these conditions, comfort is a relative term...

"I am grateful," Lyudmila Klimena says. "My husband is somewhere near Baku now. I do not know anything about him. I was wondering: What should I do? But then my neighbor came and looked after me. True, my son and I only managed to grab our passport, money, and our dog here, Katka. All the same, I feel easier in my mind—it is crowded, but safe."

Captain Kurkin's wife Marina has two boys—aged 4 and 5. She knows that they will be taken out of Baku by military transport aircraft. To Rostov, they say. But she has to fly to Kemerovo, to her parents. How will she get there? Who will help her to transfer to the right flight and get tickets?—all this is worrying Marina now. And not only her: The evacuees are receiving little information. More rumors, which causes distress and anxiety.

We talked with Colonel G. Musatov, who is responsible for the evacuation of servicemen's families.

"This problem was largely unexpected for us. Unfortunately, we were not prepared for this turn of events. Of course, we are doing everything in our power to get everyone out. The airfields have been given orders—send the refugees wherever they want to go. Of course, there are bound to be difficulties, but we will not leave a single person in trouble..."

Civilians fleeing from the extremists' reprisals have also taken refuge in the military camp of the Caspian Naval Flotilla—Captain 2d Rank S. Ishchenko conveyed that information to us.

Here, under the seamen's protection, people felt safe. Feeding and heating points were set up for them, and several hundred people, including many children, women, and old people, gathered at the wharves. The command decided to evacuate the refugees on warships. The evacuation was led by Rear Admiral V. Lyashenko, commander of the flotilla. The first to put to sea was the training ship *Oka*, followed by the cable layer *Emba* and four hydrographic ships. The crews tried to make things as comfortable as possible for their guests in cabins and quarters that are not designed for transporting such a large number of passengers. A day later the refugees were met at their landing points—Makhachkala and Krasnovodsk—by the seamen of the subunit commanded by Captain 3d Rank A. Gavrilenko. People were found space and then sent off on trains to the areas they wanted to go to. In all, more than 800 people have been evacuated. The evacuation continues.

Extensive Barricades in Baku Reported

Roadblocks Impede Military

PM1901165390 Moscow TRUD in Russian
19 Jan 90 p 4

[Special correspondent V. Belykh report: "Obstacles on Roads"]

[Text] Baku, 18 Jan—As I write these lines, a large crowd of people is barring the entrance to the building I am in. A unit of the internal forces who have been urgently moved to Baku is located here. The driveways to the building are blocked by vehicles.

These are not the only obstacles. By yesterday morning all the approaches to Baku had been barred by trucks. Groups of people were moving toward them all day.

Their chief purpose was to prevent the imposition of the curfew and to prevent military units moving freely. A crowd surrounded the Salyanskiye Barracks. Appeals were made through a bullhorn: "Don't let them out. If anything happens, lie down in front of the tanks."

By midday they had begun blocking streets actually within the city. It has to be said that the arriving subunits can no longer enter Baku because of such actions. Those which are in the city have been rendered immobile because of the obstacles and because some of the hardware, which is being brought by rail on flatcars, has been halted almost 200 km from the city.

It was in this small area, where a crowd is now gathering, that an armored car was attacked yesterday, and its crew—soldiers and an officer—suffered bodily harm.... Their units had to make their way here through several obstacles.

"During the night march our column's path was barred by several large-capacity trucks and a gathering of people," Major Pavel Demchenko said. "We turned and took another road. I was ordered to head a special group

of 20 men in case of unforeseen circumstances. But there was an obstacle on the other route, too. Lieutenant Colonel Karpov, acting commander of the regiment, asked the pickets to clear the way and explained the illegal nature of their actions. Aliyev, a militia colonel from Sumgait, repeated the same thing in the Azeri language to no avail. Then we were obliged to use force—to drag the vehicles apart. The next few pickets made way themselves...."

"We were here before in the fall of 1988," Lieutenant Colonel Nikolay Zaytsev, unit deputy commander for political affairs, said. "It was all somewhat different then. This time the organizers stand out sharply in the groups that gather. It is extremely difficult to move. We have few vehicles of our own, and when civilian buses are attached to us, the drivers abandon them and go away. People who work in contact with the military are threatened. Therefore our soldiers had to sit about on dry rations for 4 days, even without tea."

Well, the situation in the city is complex. It has become known that the Azerbaijan People's Front has split into several strands. Whereas the front's progressive wing is opposed to pogroms and violence and makes appeals for calm, the extremist section is taking the path of escalating the conflict. Young people among the refugees from Armenia are its chief mainstay. Embittered and having lost everything, they are frequently ready for any step.

Today a rally outside the republic Communist Party Central Committee building did not die down until late evening. Moderate representatives of the Azerbaijan People's Front urged the population not to cause disturbances or enter into conflicts with the military. Certain speakers at the rally advanced as their chief demanded the resignation of the republic's present leadership.

Meanwhile, at a news conference for correspondents of the local and central mass media, V. Barannikov, the republic's first deputy minister of internal affairs, pointed out that, although there have been no instances of pogroms or violence registered over the past 24 hours, the situation in the city remains tense. To lift the blockade of the entrance to the city negotiations are being conducted with its organizers. Leaflets produced by Baku party city committee are being distributed among the population to explain the purpose behind the introduction of troops: To stabilize the situation and restore the normal rhythm of life not only in Baku, but also throughout the region. There is a very pressing need for this, for people are tired of the conflict and the tension.

But an acute situation persists not only in the capital. The possibility of new clashes cannot be ruled out in Khanlarskiy and Shaumyanovskiy (rural) Rayons.... Population centers are still being fired on in the Lachinskiy and Kazakhskiy border Rayons of Azerbaijan.

Weapons, which the sides in the conflict had stockpiled in large quantities, are still being used in clashes. These

are the facts. In the Azerbaijani village of Karadagly in Martuninskiy Rayon of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKA0] the home of one of the residents was pelted with grenades and fired on by an automatic weapon. On 16 and 17 January a pipeline in Shusha and a water scoop in the NKA0's Askeranskiy Rayon were blown up.... Attacks on military details escorting railroad freight are also continuing. At Megri Station persons of Armenian nationality once again carried out an armed attack on an internal troop post. Four soldiers were injured, and a submachinegun stolen from one of them.

To end the bloodshed, instill order in the region, render the people's life safe, and return them to a normal life—this is the sole aim of imposing the state of emergency. To prevent the troops from fulfilling their duty—this difficult and dangerous task—means enabling the interethnic conflagration to continue flaring. Do the peoples of the two republics need this?

Party, Broadcast Buildings

*LD1901201890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1600 GMT 19 Jan 90*

[Leonid Lazarevich report from Baku]

[Text] The tension of the situation in Baku has reached its limits. Today the Republican Communist Party Central Committee and the republican committee for television and radio broadcasting buildings are blockaded. There is a possibility that other establishments are blockaded as well. I couldn't get there, as trucks block many of the city's streets. People calling themselves People's Front members refuse access to the Central Committee building. They are polite but firm. As our correspondent was informed at the People's Front of Azerbaijan headquarters, this action does not set a goal to seize buildings. The state television and radio continues to work normally and scheduled programs are being broadcast. Unfortunately, we failed to contact the republican Central Committee by phone.

During the day a rally was held in front of the Central Committee building. Its participants demanded the republican party leadership's resignation. The demonstrators are against bringing in additional subunits to maintain public order. Today not a single newspaper has come out in the city, apart from AZARBAYJAN, the newspaper of the Committee of Peoples' Help to Karabakh.

Ground transport and taxis are not working, nor are many city enterprises, but I don't have exact information. At the city party committee I was informed that enterprises are working partially, there are significantly fewer people than usual in the streets. They are patrolled by militia and internal troops. The city's situation is unpredictable. A minor incident can act as a detonator and trigger a powerful explosion.

As USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs press service representatives told us, according to updated data, in

Baku, from the beginning of the tragic events to the end of last week 196 pogroms were registered. There have been no new casualties in the past 24 hours. A number of our people, previously wounded, died in the hospital. In the past 24 hours over 2,000 Armenians were evacuated from Baku. In all, 13,000 people have left the city since the start of the events. New shootings were registered in the republic. In one of the rayons a man armed with a pistol and wearing the uniform of a colonel of the internal troops was detained. Those are the events to date.

Armenia Suffers Effects of Blockade

*LD1901235990 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 19 Jan 90*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Now a report from Yerevan. You will see the effect events in Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh are having on the life of Armenia. One can only guess what the consequences will be for the whole of our country.

[V. Nazaryan, identified by caption] The news coming in from Armenia is as dismal as ever. The flow of refugees is growing from day to day. There are already 5,000 in Yerevan to date but what will it be tomorrow or the next day? Late yesterday evening Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, spoke on republican television again calling for people to exercise restraint, calm, and reason. They need to. Merely protecting them becomes more difficult by the day. For 10 days, and for 4 days despite the emergency situation declared by a decree from the USSR Supreme Soviet, a new blockade of Armenia has been going on. Reserves of fuel and food are running out. There are no raw or other materials. Industry has almost ground to a halt.

It is the middle of the working day at the Armelektrodvigatel association, but almost all the sections are at a standstill. In the winding room alone where operations are done by hand, there are a few people at work.

Nor is there sufficient electricity. This is patently obvious from the display board of the Armglavenergo Directorate. Where could electricity come from if the fuel at the power stations is also running out?

[F.Kh. Akopdzhanyan, head of Armglavenergo, identified by caption] In assessing the present day it is possible to say that the situation in the republic's power industry is one of crisis, worse than critical. If we can last one or two days, it is due to the heroism of our collectives which are doing everything, even the impossible, to avoid stopping and freezing the stations, in which case there would be a total breakdown.

[Nazaryan] Over there in the distance is the Azerbaijani station of Norashen but it is 10 days since the barrier blocked the path of the trains. What is the point? There still wouldn't be any trains. [video shows people in the

streets; monitor screen at television studio of Arutunyan on television; shots of transport at a standstill; electronic parts stationary in an empty factory; people at work in a factory; display board with figures set at 0; also 20 for the Arzni Hydroelectric Power Station and 205 for the Razdan state regional electric power station; interview with Akopdzhanyan shows him in close-up with the correspondent; electricity pylons; snowy scenes on a railway track with no trains visible]

Shuts Down Factories

LD2001194590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1600 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Karyun Khumaryan report from Yerevan]

[Text] Today is Saturday, and naturally many of the republic's industrial enterprises are not working, but they would not have worked anyway, even if it had been an ordinary working day because for over 9 days already not a single train with cargo has arrived in the republic via the Azerbaijan railway, which has to provide more than 85 percent of Armenia's national economic transportation. There are no raw materials at the works and factories. The thermal electric power stations—the main power supply in Armenia—have been switched to a starvation regime. Gas, fuel oil, and fuel for vehicles are in short supply. The last stocks of construction materials in the disaster zone have been used up. Tens of thousands of builders, who have come to Armenia from all over the country, have been standing idle for many days. Yesterday, their representatives from Leninakan, Kirovakan, Spitak, and other towns and villages came to Yerevan to protest against this barbaric act of the Azerbaijani extremists, who for the third time this month are trying to strangle the republic in the grip of an economic blockade. The introduction on 19 January of a state of emergency on the Azerbaijani railway has, so far, brought no change for the better.

On the border between the two neighbouring republics, however, tension seems to have subsided somewhat. I called all the 12 border rayons and everywhere duty officials at the rayon part committees reported that there have been no new clashes or other incidents on the interethnic ground last night and all of today. Certain tension in the republic remains, though. This was stated by Usik Surenovich Arutunyan, republican minister of internal affairs, at a briefing today. The large number of authorized and training weapons that have been stolen, including from some rayon departments, is causing special alarm in the ministry. It is not excluded that criminal elements could use the weapons. So, it is possible that the crime situation in the republic will become more complicated. Public organizations, which are now helping the ministry to find and recover the weapons, are also concerned over this situation. Over the last few days, more than 120 units of authorized weapons have been recovered.

The situation in the republic is also being made more difficult by the growing wave of refugees from Azerbaijan. Now, in the Zvartnots Airport alone, more than 4,000 refugees have accumulated. A considerable number is made up of the elderly who have no relatives or friends in Armenia. A special concern has been shown toward them by an emergency commission of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Council of Ministers of the republic.

Shortages Worsen

LD2101175990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1630 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Koryun Khumaryan report from Yerevan]

[Text] Shots have not been heard in regions of Armenia bordering on Azerbaijan for more than 24 hours now. However, the rattle of wheels has not yet been heard in those stations of the Armenian rail sector that form junctions with the Azerbaijan railway either, although it is now over 6 days since the state of emergency was introduced here.

As before, Armenia is on iron rations in terms of economics and food. Because of the lack of raw materials, power, and fuel, many industrial enterprises will not produce output tomorrow, but the collectives will engage in repairs and other secondary work so as not to be idle.

However, the republican council on the emergency situation which was formed recently by the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, Supreme Soviet Presidium the Council of Ministers of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, and the operational headquarters attached to this council will probably continue to work without respite. The first session of the council made a comprehensive analysis of the situation in the republic. Particular attention was devoted to ensuring public order and rendering the utmost assistance to subunits of the internal troops and the Soviet Army. The headquarters appealed to the republic's population to be vigilant, emphasizing that only an enemy of the Armenian people can allow himself to be drawn into provocations in the present situation. Working on the staff of the headquarters there are members of the Armenian Nationwide Movement who are doing everything to restore peace and calm on the republic's territory by cooperating with the law enforcement bodies and the Soviet Army.

Meanwhile new groups of people who were forcibly deported from Baku continue to arrive in Yerevan. Many of them need medical assistance. Today more than 200 refugees from Baku with grave injuries are being treated as in-patients in Yerevan's hospitals. That is the range of problems and concerns with which Armenia is living today.

Blockade Stops Rail Transport in NKAO

LD2101155990 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1511 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Text] Stepanakert, 21 Jan (TASS)—The situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] remains complex. The blockade of the roads is continuing. Rail transport is not functioning.

Up until now the main source of the tension has been Shushinskiy Rayon of NKAO, which is predominantly inhabited by Azerbaijanis. According to a report by the temporary press center of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, a 2,000-strong unsanctioned mass meeting was held in the rayon center yesterday. Its participants put forward a number of demands, in particular that all of the workers of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs who had been drafted in here should be withdrawn from Shusha. Those assembled threatened that if these demands are not carried out, mass disturbances will begin.

In Stepanakert, the NKAO's oblast center, the military are acting in line with the decree introducing a state of emergency. Last evening, in Stepanakert's suburb, a military detail stopped a motor vehicle; firearms were found in it on inspection.

Last night a shot was fired at servicemen in the town center from a fast-moving car. Retaliatory fire was opened and the car was damaged. Two residents of Stepanakert, who were in the car, in a state of intoxication, were apprehended. The same night, in the village of Kirkidzhan, automatic weapons were fired for some minutes at Armenian houses from the Azerbaijani sector of the village. Nobody was hurt.

Over the last 24 hours, five people were detained under administrative law in Stepanakert in accordance with the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the introduction of state of emergency.

Major General Vladislav Safonov, military commandant of the Special Situation Rayon, in a conversation with a TASS correspondent, stressed that the carrying out of the Soviet Government's decision on protecting the life of the peaceful population of Armenians and Azerbaijanis, on bringing the situation in the region back to normal and on preventing bloodshed is the main task at present.

Curfew Declared in Baku 20 Jan

LD2001183390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1600 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Report from Baku by special correspondent Leonid Lazarevich—live or recorded]

[Text] A curfew will come into force in Baku today from 2300 until 0400 in the morning, local time. It is forbidden to be on the streets without special passes. Rallies, marches, strikes, and the possession of weapons have been forbidden as well. City streets have been

blocked by armored personnel carriers. Squares have been cordoned off by soldiers. Tension in the town remains very, very high. There are many flags of mourning on the streets. There are black ribbons on cars. In the Baku bay, ships of the Caspian Shipping Line are giving lengthy blasts on their sirens. The Communist Party of Azerbaijan Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Republican Council of Ministers, declared January 20, 21, and 22 as days of mourning.

Last night, when troops were advancing toward their stationing areas in Baku, convoys were shot at by guerrillas. The soldiers responded with weapons. During the daytime, sounds of shooting were heard twice in town. According to a report by the town's military commandant, about 60 people have died. There are wounded. Today I spoke with Colonel (Rubtsov), whose subunit had been advancing from Baku's northern outskirts to the central 26 Bakinskikh Komissarov Rayon. At the city boundary, the soldiers engaged in real combat. They were met with crossfire. That shoot-out lasted for nearly 2 hours. I am constantly thinking of the fact that there are forces which are consistently building up tension and urging the people toward bloodshed. Today, they, these forces, have succeeded in that. I hope very strongly the provocateurs will not get away with it. At rallies they called loudly to arms. They prompted people under a hail of lead.

Now those who have provoked these events are trying to whip up tension. They would like to initiate new tragic events. Recently General (Dubinyak), the town's military commandant, spoke on the radio. He called on Baku's residents to ignore provocations.

Measures For Order

LD2101151190 Moscow TASS in English 1459 GMT
21 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 21 TASS—By TASS special correspondents:

It was calm in Baku last night. Black flags have been hoisted on many houses in the Azerbaijan capital since the morning. The republic's government declared a three-day mourning. Civic funeral rites in memory of those who were killed during the unrest are scheduled for mid-day on Monday.

The military commandant of the city, in an address to the city residents, said units of Interior Ministry troops and the Army began to accomplish tasks set by the government.

The principal purpose is to curb crime and extremism. A continuation of the confrontation leads to loss of life, the address says.

The military commandant urges the Baku residents to join in efforts towards the rebirth of the city and the restoration of its internationalist traditions. "Ours is the

road of internationalism, the road of unity," the commandant said. "Our task is to ensure the integrity and independence of Azerbaijan."

At the same time the participants in an enlarged meeting in the Baku City Council demanded that the state of emergency be lifted and troops be withdrawn from the city.

The organisers of unrest are making attempts to hinder measures being taken to suppress crime and to stabilise the situation, a spokesman for the Interior Ministry, told TASS.

At the Baku wharf, a group of extremists got together a crowd of people near a tanker moored there. They threatened to blow up the ship if troops are not withdrawn from Baku. As a result of measures taken, the crowd was dispersed.

It was observed that people on both sides of the Soviet-Iranian border mutually crossed the border in a number of areas of Azerbaijan.

A large number of railway trains with goods are at a standstill on the Azerbaijan railway.

The situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region remains tense. Goods still do not arrive there by rail. Exchanges of fire took place in areas where Armenians and Azerbaijani live side by side. According to reports reaching here from Yerevan, the State of Emergency Council set up in Armenia and headed by Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Republican Communist Party Central Committee, is taking measures to stabilise the situation, to ensure the normal functioning of the national economy and to maintain the public order.

It is reported that people began to hand in arms to local agencies of internal affairs. [Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 1359 GMT on 21 January in a similar report here states, "It is reported that honor guard members are handing in their weapons to local agencies of internal affairs."] At the same time tension is keeping on in individual villages located near the border between the two republics.

In the accomplishment of the tasks of eliminating the explosive situation, restoring the public order and guarding facilities, units of Interior Ministry troops, Soviet Army and the USSR State Security Committee (KGB) are taking firm measures to stop acts of arbitrariness, escalation of violence and to stabilise the situation in Armenia and Azerbaijan.

Further on State of Emergency in Baku

LD2001173890 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1530 GMT 20 Jan 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast; Aleksandr Krutov report]

[Text] Hello, comrades. To start with, some information from the Transcaucasus. A state of emergency was imposed in Baku today. This extreme measure was prompted by the criminal actions of extremists groups, not just against civilians, but also against the existing state system.

In the past week 67 people have died at the hands of the perpetrators of the pogroms; there are hundreds of wounded. More than 1,200 flats have been ransacked. Around 15,000 Armenians have been driven out of their homes and have left the republic. The number of casualties is growing, as is the number of families that have been visited by grief.

The bacchanalia and violence—there is no other way of describing what is going on just now in Azerbaijan—have, in the past few days, assumed an ever more menacing and provocative nature. There are pogroms, murders, muggings, and marauding. On the night of 19 January, military units were drafted into the city. However, they immediately came under attack and gunfire. The guerillas from the People's Front opened fire from machineguns, submachine guns and sniping rifles. The upshot was eight servicemen died. In self-defense the troops took counteraction. According to figures from the Azerbaijani Ministry of Internal Affairs, more than 40 of the attackers were killed. There are considerable numbers of wounded.

An address from the military commandant is being broadcast on Baku's city radio. It explains the thinking behind the imposition of a state of emergency and sets out specific measures connected with this unavoidable decision.

I shall remind you that by yesterday afternoon the situation in Baku reached fever pitch. Guerrillas from the People's Front had blockaded the party's Central Committee building, and the radio and television buildings. Newspapers were not published, and surface transport did not operate. Many enterprises, likewise, did not work. The extremist forces of the People's Front and anti-Soviet groups paralyzed life in the town, using blackmail, misinformation, threats, and other illegal actions. There were insistent demands for the overthrow of Soviet power and for physical reprisals against all people who thought differently and their families. A special situation regime was been declared by the People's Front in the capital of Azerbaijan. Under the circumstances, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium was obliged to take the extreme step provided for by law and declare a state of emergency in Baku. [video shows people gathered outside what appears to be an army compound; tanks, trucks, and field guns inside the compound; troops carrying riot shields; throngs of people outside a building; nationalist flags waving]

Azerbaijan Front Member Arrested, Baku in Mourning
LD2101072290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
 0642 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Correspondent's report from Baku; monitored in progress]

[Text] The reinforcements of the military units in the allocated positions in the capital of Azerbaijan have helped to restore control of events. At the same time, in the course of the day, exchanges of fire, clashes, and other negative processes have taken place in various parts of the city. The competent organs are engaged in the work of confiscating arms and ammunition from the population. In the Khatainskiy Rayon of Baku, servicemen have arrested Agayev, a member of the National Defense Committee of the National Front of Azerbaijan. A home-made grenade was found in his possession and confiscated. An investigation into the case is under way and criminal proceedings have been instituted.

In the last 24 hours, 45 citizens of Armenian nationality have been evacuated by sea and air transport. In all, since the beginning of the events, more than 14,000 have been evacuated. According to preliminary estimates, 62 people have been killed during the events and about 300 taken to hospital. The tragic events in Baku have given rise to mass demonstrations in the capital of Azerbaijan and in a number of other towns. In connection with these events, a 3-day period of mourning has been declared in Baku.

In Baku, no newspapers are appearing, and there is no television; only the radio is operating. The first night of the curfew in the capital of the republic passed in relative calm, with 18 people being arrested for violating the curfew. One Makarov pistol with ammunition and one hunting rifle have been confiscated. The situation is under control. At the present time, shots can be heard in some districts of the city.

Further on Mourning

LD2101170290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
 1600 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Text] [Announcer] An hour ago, the special correspondent in Baku, Leonid Lazarevich, was in contact with us:

[Begin Lazarevich recording] The situation remains very very tense. It is almost always being controlled by the forces of law and order. But on more than 1, 2, 10 occasions today, I have heard single shots and bursts of automatic fire. And each time my heart has been wrung with pain, because I thought involuntarily that suddenly and somewhere, a bullet found its mark. Much blood has been shed here.

According to yesterday's reports by the military commandant, there was talk of 62 dead. An evening report said that there were no victims among the population during the night. But the wounded continue to die in the

hospitals. Among those stricken are innocent people. When there is crossfire in the city, anyone who happens to be on the spot can become a victim, and unfortunately, this is what has happened.

The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, the Council of Ministers and the Republic's Supreme Soviet have declared 3 days of mourning. Black flags are in the streets and on balconies. There are black ribbons on cars and black bands on people's sleeves. The horns of vessels which have packed the bay of Baku resound over the city in tribute to the memory of those who have died.

At the central committee building and everywhere, there has been a meeting. At it there is grief and sorrow. Appeals for reason and calm have been made, but there have also been calls of incitement. If they are followed, then there may be even more fearful events.

There are a great many rumors in Baku these days. The city has been in effect deprived of mass media. Newspapers are not being published. Since the power generating unit of the television center was put out of commission, television has not been operating. Only republican radio is carrying broadcasts, but its programs contain mournful music, and reports by the military commandant.

The funerals of those who have died take place in Baku tomorrow—a bad, sorrowful day. [end recording]

Baku Mood on Funeral Day

LD2201095690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
 0700 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Report from Baku by special correspondent Leonid Lazarevich]

[Text] This is a difficult day. The night passed peacefully in Baku. I have just received a report from the commandant, which says there are no new casualties among the population. But in Baku this is a mournful and difficult day today—a third day of mourning declared by the Central Committee of the republic's Communist Party, its Council of Ministers, and the Supreme Soviet.

Today is the day for burial of the Baku inhabitants who died. According to the commandant's report, 83 people died over the past 2 days, including 14 servicemen and members of their families. Today the funeral procession will pass through the whole city towards its main square where farewells will be said to the deceased and a mourning rally will take place. Then it will move to the Kirov park, where the bodies will be buried.

Funerals always make a person a bundle of nerves. And a funeral like this...you can understand for yourselves. Among those who have suffered, among those who died there are women, elderly men, and children. You can understand that when an exchange of fire takes place in a town, the bullets hit completely innocent people, people who cannot be blamed for anything. The nerves of the soldiers who serve in Baku are also strained.

Someone may have lost a comrade from his battalion. Another may have been under fire himself. A third may have been insulted. A fourth may have heard the word "occupier" hurled at him.

A helicopter in a heated atmosphere may cause horrible consequences [words indistinct]. I said "it may cause" and yet I myself regard all the events of the past few days as a provocation previously thought out by somebody. This provocation is directed not only against Baku, and not only against the republic. It is aimed against the whole of our country, against all of us, against our new life in which much is not as it should be. But there is not fear, and the main thing is that there is hope, a great and serious hope. And yet it seems to me that there are forces that do not need this new life and they are the ones who have brought about the events of this sorrowful day.

Speaking on the radio, the only source of information in Baku, Comrade (Fatabeliyev), chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, called for patience. He reported that representatives of the extremist groups have already been detained, and that an investigation is under way. His address said that the government believes it to be its duty to strengthen the sovereignty of Azerbaijan. It will do everything in its power to improve the life of the people.

An address of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee has just been heard on the radio too.

Flying over the town in tribute to those who died are [words indistinct]. Flags of mourning are hoisted over the town. This is funeral day in Baku, where the power struggle and the fight for the future are under way.

Moscow: Azeris Demonstrate Outside TV Studio

*LD2101201390 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 21 Jan 90*

[From the "Seven Days" newscast presented by Eduard Sagalayev]

[Text] Passions are sweeping across Azerbaijan and Armenia, and they are extending to other places, including Moscow. Literally a few steps from here, near the Ostankina television studio, recently there was a demonstration—the film has just been delivered—organized by the People's Front of Azerbaijan. Its participants were protesting against the introduction of the state of emergency in the republic and the presence of the troops there, and they were demanding objective coverage of the events by the mass media. This was a meeting of mourning, its participants declared.

The picture of the events that have occurred is indeed not a full one. The picture that we present for you in our reports and the pieces by our correspondents are indeed not full, and are even less than completely accurate. The work of journalists is made extremely difficult at the moment, and every report is only a part of the truth. In addition to this, the list of events for the week does not

give any idea of the sources of the tragedy, how the crack was formed [passage indistinct].

Yerevan TV Not Relaying 'Vremya' Newscast

*PM2001180490 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 21 Jan 90 First Edition p 1*

[Special correspondent Lieutenant Colonel V. Kosarev report: "Armenia: Tension Grows"]

[Text] Yerevan, 20 Jan—During these days there is much that is unusual in the Armenian capital. The faces of its inhabitants are unusual—usually they are cheerful, reflecting the southern temperament, but today they are gloomy, matching the winter sky over Yerevan. Grief and despair can be read in their eyes.

Attacks on Soviet Army and internal troops' facilities and servicemen guarding posts continue. On 19 January army officers Captain B. Yefimov and Lieutenant O. Kovalevskiy were wounded during such clashes.

The day before, Azerbaijani militants carried out an armed attack on the settlement of Yeraskh in Araratskiy Rayon. Fighting continued for a day. According to reports from reliable sources, several thousand people were involved in the clash on both sides. There are reports of a kind that one is reluctant to believe even today: that 100-mm guns and hail gun devices were used in the clash. No casualty figures are available.

Regular troop units, including paratroopers, are arriving in the region to relieve reservists who have carried out tasks in protecting vital services for the population, roads, bridges, and tunnels.

The local periodical press is full of headlines that seem to come from wartime newspapers: "We Escaped From Hell," "Stop the Killers!", "Our Spirit Cannot Be Broken." The television constantly shows reports from the airport where refugees are arriving, from hospital wards, and from rallies. The first local television channel is not relaying the news program "Vremya."

There are increasingly frequent threats against servicemen and their families. Leaders of the republic's most authoritative social organization, the Armenian National [obshchenatsionalnoye] Movement, warn extremists against this. But it seems that even they are losing control. Take the following incident. The other day Major General I. Kondratyuk and four officers were taken hostage (almost simultaneously, but in different parts of Yerevan) by persons unknown. The demands that were made to them: Give us weapons for a self-defense detachment, tell us where the ammunition dumps are. A few hours later, after talks with informal organizations, the hostages were released.

Media Under Attack in Baku

PM1901165190 Moscow TRUD in Russian
19 Jan 90 p 4

[Report by Major General Ye. Nechayev, deputy chief of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Internal Forces Political Administration: "Come to Your Senses, People!"]

[Text] Population centers shelled, hostages seized, pogroms, people killed, growing numbers of refugees... These are the kind of bitter reports we have been receiving from the Transcaucasus in the last few days. Open armed clashes between Armenian and Azerbaijani militants have become more frequent. What is more, both sides are using firearms and hardware seized by the extremists. Earlier, there were reports of local inhabitants of Azerbaijani villages being fired on from unmarked helicopters.

In many regions of Armenia attacks are being carried out on city regional internal affairs departments, militarized guard units, and military depots of Soviet Army units with the aim of seizing weapons. The other day, for example, an armed group of 10 people threatening to use weapons seized 36 revolvers, 2 small-caliber pistols, and dozens of rounds of ammunition from the Masis station militarized guard premises. Unfortunately, the number of such instances is on the increase.

Let us return to Baku. Pogrom attacks are being made on apartments and people are being killed in various regions of the city. An operations and investigations group from the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] is at work here. Investigative measures are under way to establish the identity of and arrest those involved in the pogroms. More than 60 people have already been arrested in the city. Thanks to the measures taken, 30 citizens of Armenian nationality recently taken hostage have been freed. The people released are being taken to a safe place under guard by USSR MVD Internal Forces detachments for subsequent evacuation.

There are still impediments to the work of mass media correspondents. Obstacles are being placed in the way of radio and newspaper workers wishing to dispatch their material, and telephones are being disconnected. People are voicing dissatisfaction with the published information on the situation in the republics. For example, TASS photographic correspondent V. Velikzhanin was seized by militants and taken to their headquarters while taking photographs in Baku. They threatened to murder him if they caught him again. After his film had been destroyed, he was released.

Our servicemen are honestly performing their constitutional duty and protecting innocent inhabitants. In the afternoon of 16 January a group of servicemen led by Captain Ye. Piligin, company commander, spent several hours beating off a mob of rioting youths to save a family from bloody violence. Their own lives were saved thanks

to the efficient, intelligent actions of the officer and the soldiers' self-possession and restraint.

Opposition to law-enforcement personnel has been stepped up recently. There are increasing threats of physical violence using weapons, and the families of officers and warrant officers living in the region are also being threatened with violence.

The fact that women and children are being drawn into unlawful actions is particularly alarming. Working in strict accordance with the provisions of the recently adopted USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree on the Announcement of a State of Emergency, personnel are not giving into provocation and are taking every measure to prevent acts of vandalism and bloodbaths. In Baku, our troops are continuing to protect Armenian refugees and evacuate them from the city. This cannot be done using railroad transport. More than 5,000 Armenian nationals have already been evacuated by ferryboat. Another 6,000 people are ready to leave.

In the last 2 days internal forces backup personnel have been sent to this hot spot at the decision of the country's internal affairs minister in order to fulfill in full the tasks set by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree. Colonel General Yu.V. Shatalin, chief of the USSR Internal Troops, has been made responsible for coordinating all operations.

Journalists Visit Azerbaijan Village Under Fire

PM2101214390 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 21 Jan 90 First Edition p 6

[Special correspondent N. Belan report (by telephone): "Anxious January Days. Protected From Trouble by Soldiers"]

[Excerpts] Dozens of rotary-wing machines stood in rows. Six of them were speeding off toward the mountains, whence several black dots were moving toward the town—helicopters returning from various rayons. The day was into its stride, and the "airfield" was already busily at work.

In a UAZik car we approached our "ship," on which we were to fly to the village of Chaykend, a trip organized for journalists of central newspapers and television by officers of the internal forces Political Administration.

Those who are weary of the violence and tyranny look with hope upon the soldiers arriving here. And although no decision has been taken to impose a curfew in the city and the surrounding rayons, the troops' presence is enough to cool many hotheads. There is greater order, there isn't that inflammation of the situation to which we were witness a few days ago, when the city was frozen in anticipation. But today in Gyandzha, in the first issue of the newspaper of the "People's Front," an order is published: It announces the setting up of self-defense detachments, and it prohibits the carrying of weapons outside the confines of the headquarters. It also contains

the following points: "Incidents involving servicemen should be avoided; the persecution of members of their families is also categorically forbidden." This is in harmony with the cable sent to M.S. Gorbachev in Moscow the other day and published in the "People's Front" newspaper. It contains a request for representatives of the country's government to come immediately to Gyandzha and evaluate the situation on the spot. "We don't want a second Romania," the cable says. "Think of the fate of the servicemen and their families serving in Azerbaijan."

We lift off at 1120 local time. The crew of our helicopter—Captain N. Maksimov, and Senior Lieutenants M. Kuznetsov and O. Kramarenko—have been operating in this area for 3 days. But these boys have already experienced what it is like to be shot at from the ground and what danger lurks in the silently frowning hills. Hence, they flew the machine with great caution, and when we landed in Chaykend, the engines were left running: They set us down swiftly and then soared off into the sky. Such precautions are not for nothing—an hour ago a military helicopter which had landed here was fired on by anti-air devices sited on a small hill a few km from the village, not far from Azad. We were told this by Colonel A. Busygin, an officer of the internal forces. [passage omitted]

Chaykend comprises 1,100 households, totaling some 3,500 people. Naturally, we managed to talk only with some of them, although hundreds of them wanted to unburden themselves, and every house was hospitably open. The cordiality, the openheartedness, the sincerity—this, I suppose, is the main thing that distinguishes the inhabitants of Chaykend—simple, hardworking people; so it was that much more painful to hear them tell of the calamity that has befallen them. [passage omitted]

"Yesterday we assembled the aktiv in Chaykend and explained the provisions of the decree adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium," Col. Busygin told us. "People correctly understand and approve the measures being undertaken, and they ask only one thing: We are in agreement with everything—only protect us." [passage omitted]

I experienced complex feelings when I talked with the boys in uniform. On the one hand, pride in the fact that they are such courageous, steadfast people who are sympathetic to the pain of others. On the other hand... "But after all, someone had to come here," I heard from them. You are wonderful guys, how I wanted to embrace you all, to take upon myself at least some of the hardships of your fate. Knowing all this, I don't understand how people can besmirch the Army and the internal forces. Whoever does this can never have been with soldiers and officers in such a situation, can never have shared with them the burdens of their existence, never have felt what it means to stand at your post, to fly a helicopter among the hills, to defend women, children, and old men against the bullets of the extremists.

We flew out of Chaykend in the evening. The darkness deepened, but no lights burned in the windows of the houses. Anxiety hovered over the village. And, profoundly aware of their duty, the soldiers and officers went about their watchful patrol.

Telephone Contact With Nagorno-Karabakh Cut Off

LD2001184490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1743 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] Stepanakert, 20 Jan (TASS)—Telephone communications between the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast (NKAO) and the outside world were broken off today. In addition, the Central Television daily news programs have been constantly interrupted for the past few days.

In accordance with the USSR Ministry of Defense decree, persons called up from the reserve to normalize the situation in the region were sent home today.

The temporary USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs press center has announced that in the state-of-emergency zone, work to prevent undesirable provocative actions is being undertaken by the military commandant's office among the leaders of informal associations. An official warning has been issued on the impermissibility of public addresses and the publication of materials which whip up passions in the region.

The situation in the state-of-emergency zone continues to be tense, despite the external calm.

Moscow TV Reports Situation in Gyandzha, Azerbaijan

LD2201012190

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1809 GMT on 21 January in the "Seven Days" newscast carries a 7.5 minute video report by correspondent B. Kostenko from the town of Gyandzha in the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR).

Kostenko introduces his report by saying that the people killed in the Baku conflicts are being mourned here as elsewhere in the republic. This is the second day that most enterprises have not been operating. "Mass meetings have been held virtually every day over the last week. This is one of mourning," says Kostenko. As he speaks, the video shows a group of people holding a lowered green-red-green banner with a crescent in the middle. They are standing in front of the rayon party building in Gyandzha's main square, says the correspondent. The video shows one member of this group addressing a crowd of many thousands in Azeri.

"For the moment, the situation in the town and rayon is under control as a whole. As a whole—as a whole, I repeat—it is calm," the correspondent continues, noting that the people are indignant at the situation that took place and in general at the situation now taking place in Azerbaijan. It is very complex, and also very difficult to gain an understanding of, but it is also explosive. "Any

ill-considered action and any military operation that results in bloodshed could lead to unforeseen consequences," says Kostenko. Kostenko then goes on to say that "party membership cards are being publicly burned. I am sure that this is the first time you will have seen such a thing on your television screens." The video shows three of the people facing the crowd burning documents; one of them can be heard addressing the crowd in Russian. Kostenko then interviews an unidentified man who says that relations with the Russian people must not be damaged, that "we trust the Russian people but we do not trust the apparatus men or newspaper people."

The report continues with a visit to one of the Armenian villages in Khanlarskiy Rayon of Azerbaijan, beginning with aerial shots taken from a helicopter. Kostenko notes that many Azeris "consider that if this hotbed of tension is not eliminated by resettling all the Armenians living in these villages in other places, the conflicts will not cease." He points out a jeep which was shot up near the Armenian village of (Chaykent); the driver managed to escape from it when he realized that the armored personnel carrier he met on the road was carrying people who were not military. Kostenko interviews local inhabitants who wanted to go to Russia. The village now has a Soviet troop garrison. Armed troops and a BTR personnel carrier are shown. The gunfights are, however, continuing, Kostenko adds.

The report then continues from the military garrison at Gyandzha; a major in MVD uniform comments that the situation is complex and tense, but that "it should be noted that in recent days the leadership, including members of the board of the Popular Front in Gyandzha, have, in my view, already been making more reasonable proposals for getting out of the situation that has been created." There is now more flexibility to the arguments which, a week ago, were more like ultimatums, the major concludes. The interview is conducted on an airstrip on which three Mi-26 transport helicopters can be seen in camouflage paint; another shot shows about 30 soldiers in combat gear near a similar aircraft.

Kostenko then interviews a group of civilians, who stress that spreading internecine strife is a crime, and some women who live in the military encampment who regret the deaths taking place on all sides.

The report ends with pictures of reserve troops standing near two civilian airliners who had been at the airfield for 2 days. Since the report was filmed yesterday, Kostenko comments they would now have been demobilized and sent home to Krasnodar and Stavropol Krays from which most had been mobilized. An officer says that the situation will be resolved without these troops.

"So the reservists are going home. They are being replaced by regular units. At best, the presence of the military can merely stabilize the situation, but it is ten times more complicated to eliminate the conflict and

remove the tension," concludes Kostenko, as the camera shows troops, a jeep, and a helicopter on the airstrip.

Killings in Village Noted

PM220113190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 19 Jan 90 Second Edition p 6

[N. Belan report via telephone under the rubric "Our Correspondents Report From Azerbaijan: 'Misfortune Has No Nationality'"]

[Excerpts] Gyandzha, 18 Jan—We were on our way to Todan village in Khalarskiy Rayon. [passage omitted]

Todan looked deserted. The villagers peered through the cracks of their shuttered windows: Who are these strangers? Are they bringing more trouble? People sitting around the well in the center of the village—a safe place, sheltered from bullets by a stone wall—also received us with the same unspoken question reflected in their alarmed eyes. Our escort Musa Gasan ogly explained who we were. If only you could see what happened then. People cried and embraced us. Where was the reserve characteristic of mountain folk? An old woman fell to her knees. I tried to raise her up and calm her down. Through her tears she implored:

"Help us... Help us..."

"What are we to do, we have not slept for a week," Shamat Allakhfertiye, the local teacher said. "Four people have already been killed in Todan. Bulldozers have arrived on that hill over there from Manashid, an Armenian village, and started digging trenches. Our field is over there, that is where we grow wheat. Aligara Guseynov, our collective farm [kolkhoz] chairman, went over to tell them: 'What are you doing, we have wrenched this land from the mountain.' They gunned him down. We buried our chairman 3 days ago."

"Aliyev and his relative Ismailov, a very young man, were taken hostage 12 January," Gedysh Nabiye, a kolkhoz member adds. "They were guarding a field. We do not know what happened to them. Are they still alive?"

A woman throws herself at me, wailing.

"This is Aliyev's wife," someone says and translates what she is saying. They have nine children, will they be orphans?

"Last Sunday an armored personnel carrier appeared on the hill above the village and started shooting at the houses," Akhad Ragimov joins the conversation. He also works in the kolkhoz, as a cultural program organizer. "Bayram Nasibov, an old man, a pensioner, and disabled moreover, was in the street. 'Hey, why are you shooting at women?' He shouted, and got a bullet himself. We will bury the old man today."

I noticed something else in Todan. There was not a single child's face. They have evacuated all the children from the village. The deserted school looks out onto the world

with sad reproach. Where are they, its 232 pupils? How soon will they return to their desks?

I left Todan with a heavy heart. The villagers questions were ringing in my ears: How are they to live in the future? When will the Soviet authorities protect them at last? When will the flights of unmarked helicopters stop? We witnessed one of them while we were there. Explosions rocked the mountains. Three hours after our visit snipers killed two more Azerbaijanis near Todan.

In order to get a taste of the sea, it is enough to swallow its water once. However, to appreciate the whole pain of this tragedy, one trip is not enough, I understand. Although even this trip gives you an idea of what is happening in that area. Todan is an Azerbaijani village, but trouble has hit Armenian villages too. On both sides people are dying, women and children are suffering. On both sides people are crying out in their pain and anguish. Pain and tragedy have no nationality.

Everyone hopes that soon the decree will have its impact. Aircraft with troops continue arriving. Today they were landing in Gyandzha all through the night, it seemed to me. However, military force alone will not produce stabilization. And the inhabitants of Gyandzha are perfectly well aware of this. They have held a rally at which an appeal was adopted to the garrison's servicemen, their families, the entire Russian population, and representatives of other nationalities in the city. Its gist is this: Do not succumb to provocations, the Azerbaijani people guarantee your security and ask you not to ascribe to the Azerbaijani people individual hooligan outrages perpetrated by irresponsible individuals. Leaflets with this appeal have been pasted on houses since this morning. The Gyandzha people's front has organized groups to identify provocateurs who are trying to set the Russians and the Azerbaijanis, and the Army and the local population against each other. There are civilian patrols in the streets, special groups of people are checking incoming and outgoing traffic. Military vehicles are not checked. One more thing: There are no armed people to be seen here now, with the exception of representatives of the law enforcement forces and the Army. The city party and soviet authorities and the people's front are now pulling in the same direction: A tragedy must be avoided in Gyandzha.

However, alarming rumors are worrying the city. Yesterday Azerbaijani television carried an item showing a train heading for the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic coming under fire in Armenia. The engineer was wounded. This morning a report about the worsening situation in Baku came in. Barricades are being erected in the streets and military units are blocked. And a report from Armenia: A large quantity of weapons and munitions has been captured by aggressive elements and a military depot has been plundered. The absence of exhaustive and up-to-date information which can be felt here is one of the destabilizing factors.

As we were leaving Todan, we came across a boy in the mountains. Alone, a puny little thing, aged about 12. He was walking along, wiping tears from his cheeks. On the roads of every war, just as in the tragedy which we are witnessing today, there are always children. And they always suffer most. If only the adults could remember this.

'People's Front' Continues to 'Whip Up Hysteria'

LD2101193190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
22 Jan 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Situation in the Azerbaijan and Armenian Soviet Socialist Republics"]

[Text] The address by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev on central television was heard with enormous attention in Azerbaijan and Armenia, as in the country as a whole. The events in these republics worry every Soviet person.

The situation in Baku and in the republic as a whole remains extremely tense. Unwilling to accept the failure of their schemes, the leaders of the "People's Front" and the representatives of the public who have come under their influence, and in a number of cases workers of the local bodies, are continuing to whip up hysteria and incite people against the Soviet Army.

The declaration by the leaders of the "People's Front" alleging that as a result of the measures for introducing a state of emergency women and children have become casualties is of a clearly provocative nature. It must be repeated yet again that this is an ill-intentioned lie. Its aim is to incite the people against the Soviet Army and the law and order bodies.

In this complex situation the military authorities continue to adopt measures to bring about order. On 21 January the military commandant of Baku appealed to the people of the town by radio: "Esteemed people of Baku," he said, "24 hours have passed since the declaration of a state of emergency and the imposition of a curfew. This night was calm. Units of the internal troops and the army started to carry out the tasks set by the government. The main thing is to put an end to crimes and extremism. A significant proportion of the people of Baku have an understanding attitude to this. A continuation of confrontation will lead to people dying."

Over the last 24 hours, restationing of a number of military units and subunits, and their entrenching at the positions taken have been conducted. A large group of people suspected of having committed crimes were detained, including Agayev, member of the so-called "national defense committee," who was found in possession of arms. Criminal cases have been opened in connection with this and other facts. Representatives of the "People's Front" continue to uphold harshly nationalistic positions. Thus, they are threatening to completely exterminate the ethnic group of Udins who reside in the village of Nidzh, Kutlashenskiy Rayon, Azerbaijan, and number 6,000 people.

A.A. Gukasyan, member of the so-called "NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] National Council," deputy editor of the SOVETSKIY KARABAKH newspaper, and A.A. Grigoryan, member of a cooperative, have been detained in Stepanakert under administrative law for fanning interethnic enmity. On the whole, the Armenian population of the NKAO is responding positively to these measures. A view is being put forward that authorities should have taken decisive actions long ago because, I quote, everybody is fed up with that kind of life.

On the border between Azerbaijan and Armenia, on the territory called Wolf's Gate, Armenian terrorists fired at an Azerbaijani village. Twelve civilians were killed. Only intervention by a subunit of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs troops averted even greater bloodshed. The fact that, contrary to the truth, some individuals, including those implicated in this attack, are trying to ascribe this barbaric crime to the military—precisely those who, risking their lives, stopped the shooting, is causing indignation among citizens.

In Araratskiy Rayon, squabbles over leadership are going on between guerillas representing various informal organizations. An appeal launched by certain leaders of the Armenian National Movement not to surrender weapons is leading to a situation where a considerable part of weapons falls in the hands of criminal elements and is used against the republic's population.

Assaults on establishments with the purpose of seizing arms are continuing in the Armenian SSR. At dawn, an armed group of bandits stormed into the building of the Abovyan Rayon department of internal affairs and stole some of the weapons held there. Law and order bodies are stepping up struggle against similar criminal assaults aiming at seizing arms. Thus, as a result of the measures taken by staff of the Vardenis Rayon department of internal affairs, a mortar, Zil-130 cars, a military vehicle, 126 pistols and other arms were confiscated from those who had seized them. On 20 January, a group of terrorists carried out an attack on an air-defense missile subunit in the area of Yerevan. The attack was foiled thanks to the measures that were taken.

Extremist elements are not letting up on their threats to the soldiers, demanding that they should leave the boundaries of Armenia.

The situation on the state border remains complex. Mass crossings of the border by the people of Azerbaijan and Iran in specific sectors of the Prishib and Lenkoran border units are continuing.

At the same time, some stabilization of the situation in the Nakhichevan sector of the state border has been observed. There was a meeting in the town of Astara between the Soviet and Iranian border commissars that fixed on measures to guarantee the mode of operation of the state border. More than 200 political workers and party activists of the border troops are engaged in

explaining to the population of the border area the reasons for the crisis that has arisen and the measure to solve it.

Detachments of the internal troops, units of the Soviet Army and the USSR KGB are stepping up their efforts to stabilize the situation and to restore legality and law and order.

Vremya Reports on Stepanakert Situation

*LD1901235190 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 19 Jan 90*

[Video report by Special Correspondent Aleksandr Barkhatov, from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The reports from Stepanakert read just like a military communique. Just a few hours ago, Aleksandr Barkhatov, our special correspondent, returned to the editorial office from there.

[Barkhatov] [Video shows five men armed with rifles walking through the snow; column of soldiers] This place in Shaumyanovskiy Rayon of Azerbaijan is known as the frontline. For the past few days only memories have remained of the former tranquility of the working life. There is no electricity. They know of the articles in the January newspaper only by rumor, since the mail is not getting through. The only thing the locals are the first to know about are the daily exchanges of fire and artillery bombardments.

Only 3 km away Azerbaijani guerillas have hail guns [gradoboynoye orudiye—meteorological devices normally used for inducing rainfall] in place in the mountains, and, according to helicopter pilots, an anti-aircraft machinegun. Thus, the outskirts of the Armenian village of Manashid are virtually the line of defense. At the start this defense was organized by the military instructor at the school, but now the army has come to help. The people here consider that for some time they have been living not merely in a state of emergency, but under martial law. [video shows tank on outskirts of village]

[Begin recording] [Unidentified man] Why should he fire at me, and I at him? I don't want to!

[Barkhatov] So martial law is better? For you?

[Unidentified man] Yes. Yes. Of course. That's what we need! Martial law is good. Not bad—good! It will preserve us, both us and—I am not one-sided!—both us and them. [end recording]

[Barkhatov] The declaration of a state of emergency has brought something new to the reports. Now soldiers are not being allowed out of dozens of Azerbaijani and Armenian villages. In some places they are begged not to leave and are promised a warm welcome; in other places everyone bands together to block their way. Even those people detained for breach of order—in this case Azerbaijanis—take a sober view of the situation.

[Begin recording] [First unidentified Azerbaijani] If the military help us, the people, everything will proceed peacefully.

[Second unidentified Azerbaijani] I think the military will help. We are sure they will help us. [end recording]

[Barkhatov] It is, perhaps, early to sound optimistic notes. [Video shows a briefing at the special district command post. One soldier is on the telephone. He slaps his head, puts down the receiver and announces: "That was the air field. Part of it has been taken. There are unauthorized people in the office of the chief. [words indistinct] 12 tonnes. One of our helicopters has been lost. (?the pilot has been wounded)" Another officer thumps the desk, and a third officer cranks up a field telephone]

Yesterday reports arrived here, at the special district command post, from Goris. Unidentified Azerbaijanis had attacked the building housing the rayon division of internal affairs. Weapons were seized—carbines and ammunition. Meanwhile, in the Azerbaijani town of Shusha, the number of young people who only appear at night is growing. Of concern is the excessively large influx of militia officials, supposedly posted from Baku. As before, the urgent transshipment of troops, whether during the day or at night, is being held up: Everywhere the roads are still manned by pickets. At night the roads are blocked by trucks and construction machinery. [video shows closeup of map in Russian of Stepanakert area; video of pickets on roads]

[Begin recording] [Yu. A. Kosolapov, Major general and commandant of the special rayon] You know, it is a hard thing to decide to deploy troops. I realize that this is an important step; a very important step. Whether soldiers, sergeants, or officers—they all have their families, their mothers and fathers. But it has to be said that this decision is necessary. I should say that, when making this decision, we weigh up the whole situation—literally.

[Barkhatov] What is your forecast for the coming week, say? Can one foresee any improvement in the situation, or is it still in the balance, with no certainty?

[Kosolapov] It is hard to say at the moment. At present we are fully implementing the demands as laid down in the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet presidium. One might say that these forces have, to some extent, died down. I would say that literally the next few days will tell. But by and large, the people of NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] have received the decision with approval. [end recording]

Situation Detailed

LD1901215190 Moscow TASS in English 2052 GMT
19 Jan 90

[Text] Stepanakert January 19 TASS—Heavy-duty military helicopters were landing at the Stepanakert airport one after another this morning. New Interior Ministry troops arrived in Nagorno-Karabakh.

The situation here, despite the state of emergency, remains tense. A rash of hostage-taking swept the region. The fate of two Armenians from the village of Garav in Askeran district, Nagorno-Karabakh region, who were taken hostage, is unknown until now.

Four Azerbaijani militiamen from Shusha were taken hostage in Stepanakert on January 18. Measures are taken to release them.

The commandant's office reported that on January 18 the commandant's precinct in the Armenian village of Kichan in the Mardakert district, Nagorno-Karabakh region, was fired on from the Azerbaijani village of Srkhavend [spelling as received] of the same district.

A military detail was forced to use firearms in self-defence and to repulse the attack. There are no reports about casualties.

An order issued today by Major-General Yuriy Kosolapov, military commandant of the state of emergency district, was the main subject of discussion in Stepanakert.

Items of the order on dissolution of some informal associations and mandatory registration at commandant's precincts of all refugees living in those precincts sparked off lively disputes. The number of refugees in the region runs into thousands.

The SOVETSKY KARABAKH newspaper which was the organ of the Nagorno-Karabakh regional national council for several days, again became the organ of the regional party organisation and the Soviet of People's Deputies.

Trains do not come to the Stepanakert cargo railway station as before. According to rough estimates, the region has stocks of flour and other foodstuffs only for ten days. It is expected that foodstuffs will soon be airlifted.

Armenian, Azeri Representatives Comment on Unrest LD1901204190 Moscow World Service in English 1810 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] [First announcer] The Soviet leadership has appealed to the peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia to heed the voice of reason. The message says that the Soviet people have responded with bitterness and concern to the tragic events that have occurred in Baku and elsewhere in Azerbaijan and Armenia. Blood has been shed. Rampage and pogroms have led to casualties. This cannot be allowed to be continued. No one has the right to speculate on national feelings and provoke people into blind hatred and violence. If the tragedy is not eliminated it can turn into a national catastrophe in the future. So will the voice of reason be heeded? We've put this question to the permanent representatives of Armenia and Azerbaijan in Moscow. The deputy permanent representative of Azerbaijan, Zaur Rustam-Zade, has answered this:

[Second announcer] My response to this call is only positive. Whenever there are casualties this naturally is our common trouble. Since we are in deadlock today we must heed reason. There must be strong, worthy, and reasonable persons to be found on both sides, whom people trust and listen to. The army alone cannot solve the problems. It can halt the bloodshed and save people, but it cannot reconcile the two nations. In this impasse we hope our armed forces will restore order in the region and then the best of people's representatives must lead them to negotiations and common sense and put an end to all this.

[First announcer] Here is what Armenia's permanent representative in Moscow, (Eduard Akazyan) has said in a telephone conversation with our reporter:

[Second announcer] Not only the bloodshed should be stopped, but also confrontation and quarrels. There should be a continuous search for ways to stabilize the situation in the region. Nagorno-Karabakh residents have demanded that the region be attached to Armenia. They regard this as only natural since they are Armenians, but now at this stage perhaps it would be reasonable to attach the region only to the center and get some time out. [sentence as heard] I think our leaders in Azerbaijan and Armenia alike should be in closer contact with the popular movements and seek compromise. It's unfeasible to solve all issues at once. This often leads to deadlock. There should be a step by step advance to the situation that would be suitable for all sides. In short, we should learn from experience, draw conclusions from the past, and avoid the mistakes that we have made before.

[First announcer] Now Zaur Rustam-Zade shares his view on the introduction of the state of emergency in Nagorno-Karabakh and some other areas:

[Second announcer] We realize the importance and necessity of the state of emergency. At the same time we regret that the measures have virtually spared Armenia, even though militants and arms have been coming from there. Only a total state of emergency in the two republics would make it possible to stabilize and normalize the situation soon. We reemphasize our firm denunciation of the troublemakers in Baku. The riots have led to casualties. There's no justification to this and those who are guilty will be punished.

[First announcer] Asked to comment on the suggestion to spread the state of emergency to Armenia's border areas, (Eduard Akazyan) replied:

[Second announcer] I regard this as normal. If the measure is necessary in some areas indeed it will only help. Blood has been shed so the imposition of the state of emergency was indispensable.

[First announcer] Some media have been describing what's taking place in the Transcaucasia as a right between the Christian and the Muslims. Are there reasons for that? (Eduard Akazyan) answered:

[Second announcer] (?Still) and all there is some religious element in all this. But nonetheless there are many social, ethnic, and of course political aspects to this.

[First announcer] Now the view of Zaur Rustam-Zade:

[Second announcer] There is nothing religious in this whatsoever. As a person who was born in Baku and has lived there for many years I can say that the city has always been a model of international relations. Nor has there been any conflict in the republic as a whole. So, the situation has been used just to attract the attention of many Christians to this problem.

[First announcer] It is hard to say how events will develop in the future. For this reason we may recall the late Dr Andrey Sakharov as saying that the Karabakh issue was beyond solution in Moscow offices. He realized that after a trip to Transcaucasia last winter. We have grown accustomed to waiting for decisions to come from the center but we should search for the way out ourselves. This incidentally confirms yet another forecast by the chairman of the still operational special committee for the administration of Nagorno-Karabakh, Arkadiy Volskiy. He said that although he was an optimist he didn't hope for a quick solution to the problem of the autonomous region. Without both sides' readiness for cooperation the center will be unable to find the best possible decision. To predict how the situation in Transcaucasia will develop is hard indeed, and yet we'd like to end on an optimistic note by (Eduard Akazyan):

[Second announcer] We two permanent representatives of Armenia and Azerbaijan meet quite regularly. When we discuss our problems at cabinet meetings and in the government commission on refugees we have complete understanding. There are situations when we try to help each other. I believe the relations that we have are beneficial for the common cause.

'Hopes' For Restoring Law, Order Reported

LD1901215590 Moscow TASS in English 2122 GMT
19 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 19 TASS—The appeal of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the USSR to the peoples of Armenia and Azerbaijan, that was announced at a moment crucial for the fates of both republics, evoked hopes for restoring law and order.

However, extremist forces are hampering in every way measures to stabilize the situation that has further aggravated today in Baku and many other regions of Azerbaijan.

Unlawful actions of the self-styled "National Front Defence Committee" and nationalist, anti-Soviet groups pushing for power, the city's life has been largely disrupted. [sentence as received] All traffic has stopped, except for the underground, enterprises have stopped

work. Motor roads and railways are blocked. So-called self-defense groups search passengers and take away valuables. Communications and the radio and television centre have been immobilized.

Speakers at rallies call for the forceful overthrow of Soviet power, the secession of Azerbaijan and the reunification of northern and southern Azerbaijan in a single Islamic state. Those who disagree with these calls and families of servicemen are threatened with reprisals. They are prevented from leaving the republic.

This means that the Popular Front leaders were hypocritical when they assured the republican leadership during their meeting that they would not seek to increase tension.

While calling upon the population of Baku to protest against the imposition of a curfew in the city, the extremists themselves have virtually created a state of emergency.

Repeated calls on them to show good sense and cease unlawful actions are ignored by them. Moreover, understanding what turmoil that have led the people into, the extremist forces are now seeking to blame the republican and central bodies of state authority for the uncontrollable developments.

The population, including Azerbaijanis, are increasingly indignant at the discord. Thousands of Baku residents turn to the party, Soviet and law-enforcement bodies demanding that their safety be more rigorously protected and normal life be restored to the city.

The situation remains equally complicated in Armenia. Groups of militants are being actively formed here to be deployed along the border with Azerbaijan. Moral and physical terror is being stepped up by extremist groups to create an atmosphere of fear and uncertainty in the republic. Skirmishes are increasingly frequent between adjacent Armenian and Azerbaijanian areas. A group of Armenian terrorists has used mortars to shell the Sadarak settlement in Ilyichevsk district of the Nakhichevan autonomous republic.

Unrest is causing huge economic damage to both republics and the country as a whole. One example is 143 freight trains immobilised by the railway blockade.

Tumult has spread along the USSR state border, especially within the areas guarded by the Prishib and Lenkoran border guard forces. Several thousand people crossed over to Iranian territory over the past 24 hours, part of them has returned home. About a thousand Iranians have been to the Soviet territory. Extremists involve women and children in their unlawful actions at the border with the aim to prevent border guards from curbing their activity.

Despite the complexity of the situation, law-enforcement, regular army, Interior Ministry and border guard troops are stepping up the struggle against unlawful activities.

More than 200 criminal proceedings have been instituted in Baku. Some extremist leaders, including a militant chief, have been detained in Stepanakert in accordance with the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

All extremist organisations and groups operating on Nagorno-Karabakh territory have been disbanded by the order of the Stepanakert military commandant.

Interior Ministry forces have recaptured a sizable portion of weapons seized by militants in the town of Echmiadzin on January 17.

Reinforcements for the troops of the Transcaucasian military district are arriving in both republics from other military districts of the Soviet Union.

KGB Official on Situation in Baku

LD1901152690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0500 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] The complicated situation in Azerbaijan continues. Listen to a report from Baku by our correspondent Leonid Lazareyevich.

[Lazareyevich] Ferries are departing from the port carrying Armenian refugees who are forced to leave the city. Over the past few days, more than 10,000 people have left. People were compelled to leave because tragic and terrible events have been occurring in the city. It has been reported that over 50 people have died. However, for more than 48 hours now—according to information we have received—no more people have died. In this respect, the situation has stabilized. More than 200 people have been detained. An investigation is being conducted. This what is Gennadiy Vasiliyevich (Kislik) deputy head of the Investigation Directorate of the USSR Committee for State Security had to say at a meeting with journalists.

[Begin (Kislik) recording] A united investigation team has been set up with emergency and investigation staff from three departments—the Procuracy, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the Committee for State Security [KGB]. Why is the KGB among them? Because proceedings have been instituted on the basis of Article 72 of the Criminal Code of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic, which concerns responsibility for causing mass disturbances. Naturally, the investigation will probably not resolve its task if it limits itself solely to finding the direct perpetrators of the criminal acts. The main task is to expose the instigators and inspirers, the organizers of these terrible crimes; and work is being carried out precisely in this direction. We have been at work for several days now, and today it is still too early to talk about results. [end recording]

[Lazarevich] Yesterday, a rumor was spread that a curfew would be introduced, that a state of emergency would be enforced. It is now known what this rumor was based on, but it brought in its wake an outburst of emotions, stormy rallies. And now the city is not calm:

Yesterday, public transport was not running, many people could not get to work. In this complicated, this very complicated situation when nerves and emotions are as taut as they possibly can be, rumors are very frightening.

Radio Panel Discusses Caucasus Situation

LD2101125390 Moscow in English to North America
0810 GMT 21 Jan 90

[From the "Top Priority" program; presented by Sergey Goryachev, with Sergey Plekhanov and Andrey Korchunov, political analysts]

[Text] [Goryachev] How do you, ladies and gentlemen. Welcome to Top Priority. I am Sergey Goryachev. As thousands of troops are trying to stop the bloodshed in Azerbaijan and Armenia, one can hear these terrible words—the civil war—more and more often to describe the developments there. On Wednesday the state of emergency was imposed on the region and the Soviet Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov, described on Thursday the situation there as great disaster. And dozens of people are reported killed. The figure that I have at this moment is something like 60 people but (?I can't) check it. Well, these are the facts and very sad facts. Two political analysts, Sergey Plekhanov, to my left, and Andrey Korchunov, to my right, are here to discuss this situation. I appreciate you coming here gentlemen.

[Plekhanov] Thank you.

[Goryachev] Well, let's make it clear from the very beginning that what we say here may not necessarily coincide with the position of the Soviet Government. What we say is what we think about that, okay? Let me remind you from the beginning that last time we discussed the situation in Lithuania, where the Communist Party called for its independence and should become actually independent from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and people are calling for a Lithuanian secession from the Soviet Union. Could you draw parallels between what is going on in Lithuania and the developments in the Caucasus? Of course, not in the form of it but in the essence. We start with you, Sergey.

[Plekhanov] I think there are some common roots. The events in the Caucasus are yet another reminder that urgent political reform, a fundamental political reform is in order for the Soviet Union. We are living in an over-centralized unitarian state which does not correspond with the reality of about 300 million people of over 150 various ethnic origins living side by side, most of them living on the land and—virtually every one of them living on the land which they have occupied for centuries—and the problems of co-existence of cultures, languages, ethnic groups in such a huge country can only be solved on the basis of democracy, recognition of right to self-determination, and not ordering about their lives from the center, as it was done in the past.

[Goryachev] Would you say that the Soviet Union is disintegrating, Andrey?

[Korchunov] Well, it depends how you define the word. It is disintegrating in the sense that, you know, the old unitarian system is collapsing, but at the same time I think if economy—if there is any progress in economic field, if there is something like domestic market of the, you know, new types it will be much stronger than the old ones.

[Goryachev] You base your assumptions on the economic (?pattern) of the Soviet Union, right?

[Korchunov] Yeh, I think that the problem is that we have no such thing as domestic market now and therefore there are no [word indistinct] forces and we see, you know, the renaissance of national feelings that are virtually tearing the country apart.

[Goryachev] Okay, let us talk about the actions of the Soviet Government in the conflict in the—between Azerbaijan and Armenia. The state of emergency was imposed after several days of fierce clashes when both sides used helicopters and armored personnel carriers against each other, when the death toll was about 50 people. And some people say that Moscow was too slow to react adequately to these developments. That's actually making it develop quicker and faster.

[Plekhanov] Well, sitting on the sidelines it's always easy to criticize the people who take the decisions for being too slow. I think as far as Nagorno-Karabakh is concerned, that part of Azerbaijan where the most of the people are Armenians, the state of emergency there has been in existence for, well, I think almost a year now.

[Korchunov] Well, it is not actually the state of emergency...

[Plekhanov] Well, for practical...

[Korchunov]...more like a special status.

[Plekhanov] Yeah, right, but for all practical purposes it was something similar. There were troops there, the local government was under the control of the special authorities from the center and the central authority was recognized as having special responsibility for that. However, there was this explosion of violence and I think that there was a general—and there remain—a general disinclination of the center, or rather a wariness, wariness in the center, in Moscow, to be too quick to use force. In the first place because you are dealing with centuries-old ethnic hatred and ethnic conflict in which if you use force that may lead to escalation of violence and simply sending masses of troops there. Who do you shoot at? Do you shoot at both sides so they stop—do you kill both sides so that they stop killing each other? Is that...would that be the formula? The only rational purpose that the troops can play in that situation is trying to stop the fighting by injecting themselves between the opposing sides. But that means that you must be very circumscribe about your own use of arms.

[Korchunov] I think that people in the army and the officers and the soldiers were not very happy about this decision because it's not their duty. And I would say even more that when the clashes took place at Azerbaijan-Iran border I think that our border guards were extremely cautious not to provoke anything that can in any way resemble what happened in Tbilisi and probably it wasn't the best way to act because, after all, you know, you should take into account national cultures of people. And I think that we somehow oversold the idea of democracy to our Caucasian republics, because, you know, they have no longstanding democratic traditions and probably the idea that pragmatism and that common sense will prevail at, you know, among the leadership of, for example, Azerbaijanian National Front was not, was not the right idea.

[Goryachev] Let me interrupt you here and continue along these lines that you raised. Let's talk about the role of the religion in this conflict. And let me quote Iranian spiritual leader Ayatollah Khomeini who said on Wednesday that it would be a big mistake—and I am reading—it would be a big mistake to think that ethnical and national motives are behind the Azerbaijani position. He said that the last 70 years of the Soviet power the people of Azerbaijan had been forcefully kept away from Islam and now they are just showing their religious feelings. Well, what is the role of religion? Do you think it's a weighty factor or is the heart of matter either political or social?

[Plekhanov] (?Well), number one, religion is certainly part of that conflict, as in any...

[Goryachev] Bearing in mind that Armenians are mostly Christians...

[Plekhanov] Christians, and Azerbaijanis are Moslems. Secondly, it is not true that for 70 years Islam had no place in Soviet society. That's wrong. In fact, the Islamic structures in Azerbaijan in some respects were comparable to those in Iran. I remember when Ayatollah Khomeini started his revolution the clergy in Baku was kind of condescending toward him because they thought themselves as the real center of Islam in this part of the world. Number three, it is easy to see why the Iranian authorities are talking this way: Because they feel very, very threatened by the upsurge of Azerbaijani nationalists. There are more Azerbaijanis living in Iran than there are in Soviet union, and while in the Soviet Union they have a republic of their own, they can speak their language, publish their books, develop their Azerbaijani culture—they are recognized as a separate ethnic group—in Iran they are assimilated and the Iranian Government has been suppressing the Azerbaijanis' striving for their own ethnic self-expression. And so—of course, it makes sense for them to downplay the ethnic component of this situation and build up the religious component. Both groups are Shi'ites.

[Goryachev] Yes, some of the leaders of the Azerbaijani National Front have already called to creation [as heard]

a big Azerbaijan with both Soviet Azerbaijanis and Iranian Azerbaijanis living there.

[Korchunov] Well, you know, I think that economically at least it is even less feasible than any of independent Baltic states because Azerbaijan at the moment is not ready just to operate as independent state. It depends to a large extent on what it gets from Russia, from other republics. So that's the problem. I think that at the moment the leadership of the National Front of Azerbaijan is not ready to take responsibility and unfortunately I think that in both republics, in Azerbaijan as well as in Armenia and the party leadership—the communists—turned out too incapable [as heard] to control the situation. We see no major role played by a party organization despite, you know, the top leadership was replaced and new people are now in charge and they seem to be much more intelligent and flexible than the old ones but they can do practically nothing. I think it is a very big challenge for the role of communists, of—you know—of communists in such Asian religious republics.

[Goryachev] And that makes a difference from the situation in Lithuania, by the way, where the communist party is leading this movement towards independence in Lithuania. Isn't that so?

[Plekhanov] Right, let me get back to that Moslem factor. You see, there is a danger that these, er, this upheaval in Azerbaijan may lead to another flare-up of Moslem fundamentalism in the Middle East and around the Middle East. Such fears are already expressed by some people in the Middle East and they are very, very concerned about some other leaders stressing the religious side, the religious aspect of the whole thing. It's clear that the religious element is not the main thing, but if some people do it for their own political purposes and if they fan the flames of religious fundamentalism that could have profound international consequences.

[Goryachev] I would like to ask you to get back to the internal situation here rather than to its international aspect. And by the way there is another possible explanation of the outburst of violence in Azerbaijan and Armenia. Let me quote Georgiy Tarazevich, who is the head of the Parliamentary Commission of Nationalities and Inter-Ethnic Relations. He told the news agency INTERFAX (?of) Radio Moscow that the reason for the rise of tensions in the two republics is connected with the desire of conservatives opposed to perestroika to seize power. How would you comment (?to) that, Andrey?

[Korchunov] Well, theoretically one cannot exclude that conservatives did play some role in, you know, in this conflict. They, you know, they want some how to slow down the pace of perestroika and perhaps you know to disrupt public opinion in both republics. But I, I don't think it can be, this situation can be, you know, understood as some kind of conspiracy. I don't believe in the theory of conspiracy and I don't think that it is possible.

[Plekhanov] I think that the desire of local elites for preserving and maybe even strengthening their positions, faced with a wave of democratization and demands for human rights from their own citizens; that desire has motivated some of those elites to play their nationalist card, to put the blame on Moscow, to put the blame for the trouble on other ethnic groups, and thus kind of stave off the fire of public discontent and maybe even become new leaders of the public on this nationalist basis. This has happened in other countries in the past and unfortunately it's happening in the Soviet Union.

[Goryachev] I understand that Mikhail Gorbachev is in a very difficult position at this moment: being the architect of perestroika, of democratization, he unleashed these forces that have been accumulating for years and for decades. And what's more some people argue that some of the mistakes were made by Mikhail Gorbachev himself during the recent years of restructuring, and they say, well, probably we have given too much freedom to the people and they do not know how, how to use democracy; they use it to destroy. And they continue that probably we've gone too far and probably we should return to the old path, to a firmer rule. Do you think that is possible because of these developments?

[Plekhanov] I don't think you can go back in history, you can't go back to the pre-democratization period in the Soviet Union. Democracy is always messy. The problems accumulated over the decades can best be handled in the situation—openness, recognition of democratic rights. Ah, it is painful, but I think that the realization that democratization is the right road is dominant. I'm sure that the election campaign that is starting will prove that. I think the people recognize who is who and what is what and they will not willingly give up the freedom which they have won in the past 5 years.

[Korchunov] Well, I think that mistakes are inevitable. You cannot move forward without making mistakes. But I think that the problem of Gorbachev is deeper than simply some mistakes or blunders. I think the problem is that he cannot move ahead at consensus speed: if he goes too slow he'll lose the Baltic States; if he goes too fast he'll lose Caucasus and Central Asia to put it in a most simplistic way. I think that it's, it's impossible that the same rules, the same procedures of democracy can work with equal efficiency in European societies and in Asian societies.

[Plekhanov] But nobody is asking for that. In fact it's been recognized that the tempo of changes (in each) republic should be according to...

[Korchunov] Yeah, well, I understand that but that means actually that the country will disintegrate in future.

[Plekhanov] No it doesn't.

[Korchunov] Because, you know, they will be, they will, they will be more and more diverse from each other. You know, Baltic states will be closer probably to Finland

than to Azerbaijan and Azerbaijan will be closer to Iran and Turkey than to, let us say, Poland or Hungary. That's the problem.

[Plekhanov] That's natural, yeah, but that's a natural thing and that's what is meant by movement away from the unitarian, totalitarian state into a federation of free republics. That each will have more differences from the other one and, there will be specific conditions on the ground will be better reflected in their policies.

[Korchunov] Yeah but that raises the question of what will keep these republics together, and that's the basic problem: if they're so different, if they have different interests, different political culture, different economic priorities and different traditions what will be the source of their unity? And here I think the answer is still unanswered, the answer is still something that we should look for.

[Plekhanov] Well, they've lived together for a long time, number one; they have strong economic bonds which still tie them together and, individually, they'll fare much worse in this world of ours than together if they're bound by free, ah, consent rather than by bonds imposed from the center.

[Goryachev] Well, that's a good discussion. We have to wind up soon. Let me ask you probably the last question: a state of emergency is in effect in a large area of the Soviet Union. Do you view it as a sign of weakness of perestroika to solve the problems without resorting to the use of force, or do you view it as a commitment to continue?

[Plekhanov] Actually I think that it's a view, it's a result of a weakness of the state which is now in a transitional phase. Of course it's a tragic thing; of course one would never wish that it be so, and it's like a fire which has erupted and you need urgent measures to put out the fire. But you put out the fire—what do you do then? Destroy the building that you started building?

[Korchunov] Well, I would add that, you know, anyway there are no ideal solutions for ethnical problems. No, it's an illusion to think that you can just introduce some institute, some mechanisms and everybody will be happy. I think that probably the best thing, (angle) to tackle this, some of this conflict, is just to try to keep them local fires.

[Goryachev] Yeah, we'll, we'll hope for the better. Thank you very much gentlemen, Sergey Plekhanov and Andrey Korchunov. I'm Sergey Goryachev winding up this edition of Top Priority. Thank you for listening.

Abolition of NKA O Special Administrative Body Seen

PM1901150990 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jan 90 p 1

[O. Shapovalov report under general headline: "Transcaucasia, 18 January. Situation Has Deteriorated in Last 24 Hours"]

[Text]

Stepanakert

It appears that the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] Special Administration Committee, which has marked its 1st anniversary, will be abolished in the near future. A number of the committee's members have recently left Stepanakert. What authorities will replace the Special Administration Committee? So far, this question remains open. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree on the introduction of the state of emergency gives extensive powers to the military. However, while tackling the extremely complex tasks of restraining the rival sides, the military administration is hardly able also to attend to economic and social questions. And they are multiplying with every passing day. Only by air are communications maintained between Stepanakert and Armenia and between Shusha and Azerbaijan. No goods are arriving by rail; there are shortages of essential goods.

Both the Armenian and the Azerbaijani populations are suffering as a result of the blockade and the armed clashes. Clearly, the period of uncertainty as regards official organs of power cannot last long. So far the inhabitants (most often they are refugees) are taking their needs to the commandant's office or to the leaders of informal organization.

The situation in the NKAO and neighboring rayons remains extremely tense. A few days ago 5 servicemen trying to leave Gyandzha (the new name for Kirovobad) were captured. After negotiations with representatives of the Azerbaijan People's Front they were exchanged for combatants. The captured weapons were also returned.

Commandant Orders Groups To Dissolve

LD1901182190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1
600 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] The situation remains tense in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] where an order from Commandant Major General Kosolapov has dissolved the Armenian National Unification movement [Miatsum], the National Council of Nagorno-Karabakh, the Artsakh Armenian Students Alliance, and other informal organizations.

The republican organizational committee on the NKAO set up under the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution of 27 November 1989 has carried out a number of measures in Shusha. A bus in Lachinskiy rayon and a quarantine station in Ilyichevskiy rayon in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR] have been fired on by Armenian guerillas. Several Armenian guerillas have been disarmed in Kubatinskiy and Agdamkiy rayons. A group of Armenian guerillas has carried out an armed attack on the Azerbaijani village of Syrkhavend in Mordakertskiy Rayon in the NKAO. The attack was repulsed and no one was hurt. Another group, using a captured APC, forced its way out of Gadrutskiy

Rayon of the NKAO into the Azerbaijani village of Chiman in Fizulinskiy Rayon. Fortunately, there were no human losses here either.

As a result of the blockade of the section of the Azerbaijan railway that runs through Armenian territory, 143 goods trains are at a standstill, of which 115 contain goods for Armenia and 28 for the Nakhichevan ASSR.

Patriarch Pimen Statement on Azerbaijan Situation

LD2001182790 Moscow TASS in English 1715 GMT
20 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 20 TASS—Patriarch Pimen of Moscow and all Russia made today the following statement:

"As head of the Russian Orthodox church, as people's deputy I together with all my compatriots take in the tragic events in Baku and other towns of Azerbaijan, as well as some regions of Armenia with bitterness and pain. With all my heart I share the concern of the country's leadership, which permeates their appeal to the peoples involved in the conflict by extremists. People are already dying and the blood of the innocent is shed. I feel deep compassion for them.

"I am preparing my brotherly appeal to the heads of churches of Azerbaijan and Armenia, to all the believers of these multinational republics and hope that the voice of reason, love and brotherhood will triumph over arbitrariness and violence. For man is the crown of God's creation. Therefore, as apostles say, 'Now I beseech you, brethren, mark them which cause divisions and offences contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned, and avoid them'... 'For so is the will of God, that with well doing ye may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men.'"

Azerbaijani Officials Give Moscow News Conference

NC2201113390 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress
in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Text] A news conference on the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh and related developments has been held in Moscow at the premises of the permanent representation of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]. A catastrophic situation has evolved in that region. Armed clashes between Armenians and Azerbaijanis have become widespread. In these clashes, not only automatic weapons but even helicopters have been used.

The news conference, which was attended by our correspondent Oleg Ivanov, was hosted by the Azerbaijani permanent representative, Rostamzadeh. (Sohrab Shamkhalov), a representative of the Azerbaijan Popular Front, and (Farhad Agamaliev), a representative of the Azerbaijani (Ojak) cultural association, also participated in the news conference.

Our correspondent Ivanov reports that Azerbaijani society and all enlightened and judicious people in the

republic have expressed deep regret over the situation which has emerged in Baku. They share the sorrow of the families and relatives of those who have died or suffered.

Rostamzadeh, the permanent representative of Azerbaijan, began his statement by referring to the victims of the murders and pillage that has taken place in the capital of Azerbaijan in the past few days. He discussed the situation in the Azerbaijan SSR in general and in Nagorno-Karabakh in particular. He spoke with great pain and sorrow of the armed clashes, the extent of which it is difficult to imagine, and the tens of thousands of Azerbaijanis from Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh who are now homeless all over Azerbaijan and cannot obtain housing or employment. He spoke of the course of events which has dealt a blow to the progress of perestroika not only in the Caucasus, as is self-evident, but also in the Soviet Union.

Rostamzadeh said: In our opinion, the Nagorno-Karabakh dispute resulted from Armenian territorial ambitions. This conflict has escalated since the very first day and the ambiguous stance of the center on this issue helped this escalation. The deputy of the permanent representation termed the central government's decision to take over the administration of Nagorno-Karabakh an error and a contradiction of the USSR Constitution. These measures greatly exacerbated the situation in the region. It should be especially pointed out that the statements by the representatives of the Azerbaijani people, in both the government and the party, had a moderate tone.

In our opinion, it is important that both Rostamzadeh and the Popular Front's (Shamkhalov) supported the resolution of the issue through political negotiations with the Armenian side. Rostamzadeh said: The best representatives of the people should guide them toward negotiations and sound judgment. All these bloody and disastrous events must stop. Talks are necessary even if it seems that achieving this would be very difficult at the present juncture. The issue cannot be resolved only by using the Army. The Army may help stop the bloodshed, but this will not satisfy the two peoples.

(Sohrab Shamkhalov) said on behalf of the Popular Front that it supports the full right of Armenians to live on Azerbaijani soil if Azerbaijanis in Armenia have the same right. The Popular Front representative answered a question from a foreign correspondent on whether Azerbaijan would break away from the Soviet Union and said: The Popular Front's manifesto stipulates that the republic is striving to obtain complete economic and political autonomy within the framework of the Soviet Union. There is no mention of Azerbaijan's departure from the Soviet Union. We believe that if the central government has good will in this regard, we will be able to enjoy an (?independent) government under the aegis of the Soviet federation which requires greater (?evolution).

This is what our correspondent, Oleg Ivanov, reported on the news conference held in Moscow at the permanent representation of the Azerbaijan SSR. Esteemed listeners, we have tried to present the views of one of the parties to the conflict. We plan to bring you the views of the Armenian side, so that you can draw your own conclusions about this painful issue for the entire Soviet Union.

Stavropol Women Protest Troop Call-Up

LD1901204390 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1530 GMT 19 Jan 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The peoples of Armenia and Azerbaijan are experiencing difficult days now. Shots are still resounding in that restless part of the country, blood is being shed and pogroms are happening. The hopes of sound-minded people, and one must say that they are the majority, are connected with the Army and with the internal troops. It is necessary first and foremost to establish order at the hotspots of the country. Nobody argues with this. But several uneasy telephone calls came into the editorial office this morning from Krasnodar and Stavropol. Women telephone. I will not retell the content of the conversation, but I propose that you watch the following report which has just been received.

[Begin recording] [P. Guskov, TV correspondent] Several thousand young Stavropol people have supplemented in these past days the ranks of the troop subunits of the Transcaucasus at the order of the USSR minister of defense. Alarm for their destiny and for their life and health brought the participants in this meeting to the central square of Stavropol. [video shows demonstration by over 100 people on a large square with a Lenin statue]

[Unidentified women, addressing meeting] I am a woman! I will not give my son to the Soviet Army! I will not give him over! We keep on enduring enduring, enduring! How long must we endure! Why are they gathering our boys by night? And we are silent, are silent!

[Second woman] We know about how, despite the fact that the republic first secretaries have been replaced, nothing has changed, absolutely nothing. Moreover, the situation is deteriorating, and today, when my son has been called up, I categorically object against the idea of my son's blood being shed. Why? Because, generally, the government is not adopting radical measures.

[Guskov] Questions, questions. Questions that are tricky and difficult. And so it is difficult for the party and local soviet workers who have come here to the meeting to answer them.

[Unidentified party official, speaking to a woman at the meeting] Who can be indifferent to what is happening?

[Third woman] No, we cannot be indifferent. But we also cannot sacrifice.

[Party official] Well, let us, say, take our boys who have been called up to the Army. They are located in Yerevan. In Yerevan. Not beyond the frontiers, but in Yerevan.

[Third woman] I understand that...

[Party official] There are no battles there. They are guarding installations.

[Second party official] But today it is necessary to provide some kind of order for the population in that area, which is suffering through no fault of its own, and it is necessary to render those people safe. We are proceeding merely from such positions. [surrounding women attempt to object to these remarks]

[Guskov] When there is a wave of emotions, how easy it is for any opponent to win prestige!

[Unidentified man, addressing those assembled] Once again we invite you to come here on Saturday at 12 o'clock to a meeting. We will prepare documents and will prepare decisions. Telephone us and propose your decisions! The telephone number is in the leaflets. The goal which we set ourselves is once more the stopping of the mobilization, and the return of the people who have been dispatched. With this goal we must elect a specific body which would busy itself with this cause. We are prepared to draw our common opinion to the attention of the government! [video shows meeting in progress and people passing through the square]

[Guskov] Passions were seething the same day not only on the square. Even when representatives of the Women's Councils who did not want to support the emissaries of the People's Front gathered at the House of Political Enlightenment, they too spoke sharply.

[Unidentified woman, addressing women at indoor meeting] Everything should be resolved peacefully. It is one thing to draw up now a telegram and an appeal and to send it to Moscow. I agree with that. But in no circumstances should there be street meetings or strikes, however painful and bitter it is for us.

[Second woman] It is correct indeed that the military commissar was criticized here, because, as a result of a lack of glasnost, such emotions have been born which have spilled over today.

[Third woman] The collective of the Stavropol Instrument Works protests the call-up of the reservists of Stavropol Kray. We do not want the peoples of those republics to call us occupiers. We do not want a second Afghanistan. We ask that a response be given within 24 hours. That is from the Work Collective Council, the secretary of the party bureau, and the chairman of the trade union committee. [end recording]

Events on Soviet Iranian Border Discussed

Nakhichevan Threatens Secession

LD2001145490 Moscow TASS in English 1441 GMT
20 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 20 TASS—The situation in Baku remains extremely tense. Units of the Soviet Army and interior troops were brought to Baku this morning under the provisions of the decree on the state of emergency.

The organisers of the unrest do not abandon attempts to frustrate measures being taken by troops and Interior Ministry personnel to normalize the situation and to ensure the safety of the population, a TASS correspondent was told in the USSR Interior Ministry today.

According to the USSR Interior Ministry, there were 43 rampages in Baku over the past 24 hours. Motor roads were blockaded. Roadblocks were set up with the use of lorries and buses. Picketers detained two military trains at Udzhariy and Kyurdamir railway stations.

A strong explosion occurred in the building of the republican television in Baku at 1930 on January 19. According to preliminary data a home-made device went off, putting out of operation the power supply system. Republican television suspended its work. Newspapers were not published either.

At 2 a.m. crowds of people gathered outside the building of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party, the Central Post Office, radio, television and outside other important facilities. Traffic was brought to a standstill.

There was active resistance to the movement of troops when they began to enter the city. They were fired upon by militants. Troops used firearms. According to data given at the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Press Centre earlier today, eight servicemen were killed and more than 40 attackers were killed. There was a large number of the wounded.

Gun-battles continued in Azerbaijan areas that border on Armenia. As a result of firing on Sadarak village, five houses were destroyed and six people, including mother with two children and Captain Seydov, a militiamen, were killed. Twenty-three people were wounded, including five militiamen.

A decision on secession of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic from Azerbaijan and the Soviet Union was declared in the city of Nakhichevan on a demand from a meeting of many thousands of people.

The situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region has not improved either.

In Armenia, armed attacks were made on a number of Interior Ministry departments and other facilities for the purpose of seizing arms and military hardware.

An attack was made on the paramilitary guards of Zvartnots Airport in Yerevan where more than 100 pistols and cartridges from them were seized. In Nairi district, extremists captured five hail-control service guns.

Border Situation 'Deteriorates'

PM1901160290 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
20 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by IZVESTIYA correspondents F. Ivanov, R. Ignatyev: "Situation on Soviet-Iranian Border Deteriorates Again"]

[Text] After the imposition of the state of emergency, a comparative lull set in on the state border. But the period of calm did not last long. On 18 January 1990 local inhabitants in Dzhailabadskiy Rayon perpetrated outrages on the border. They destroyed engineering and technical structures, cut a kind of corridor through the barriers, and started crossing the border in groups. Their path was barred by the River Bolgarchay. It turned out to be shallow in this locality, and the border violators waded across.

On that day thousands of Azerbaijanis crossed to the Iranian side. Among them were children, old people, and women. Mass border violations took place from the other side, too. Here rallies were held again and there were calls for unification and a joint struggle for the liberation of Nagorno-Karabakh.

The disturbances continued the next day. Local inhabitants arrived in cars and buses, collected Iranian citizens who had crossed onto Soviet territory, and took them deep into the rayon. Rallies were organized again there. Some of the Iranians went back, but some remained on the Soviet side.

It is extremely difficult to control the situation: For several tens of kilometers the border has been "stripped bare"—barriers have been broken and communications disrupted. It is impossible to carry out any repair work, since the extremists promptly blockade the sectors in question. Reserves have now been brought into the rayon. In a number of places it has been possible to strengthen border protection. Nonetheless, the other day gangsters seized a weapons and ammunition dump.

The border guards are doing everything possible to prevent bloodshed and are showing restraint and keeping cool.

N. Britvin, chief of the USSR KGB Border Guards Political Directorate, told us:

"During the night of 18-19 January unidentified persons carried out an attack on the border post headed by Senior Lieutenant V. Pluzhnik. They fired on the border detail from vehicles. Not a single shot was fired in return. There have already been many such provocations. But in each case the border guards behave correctly and try to settle everything by peaceful means. Rumors are now

spreading here—a general or a colonel must be taken hostage, they say. As you can see, people are having to operate in a difficult situation.

"During these worrying days, a large group of political workers has arrived on the border. Cadets and officers are carrying out explanatory work among the population and meeting with the leaders of the people's fronts. An appearance by Major General V. Lilin, deputy chief of the USSR KGB Transcaucasus Border District, on local television is scheduled for 20 January. Together with a group of comrades, he will conduct dialogue with the inhabitants and is ready to answer questions of interest to them.

"According to the latest reports from the Transcaucasus Border District, the situation on the border remains complex."

IZVESTIYA's correspondents contacted the Nakhichevan Border Detachment command.

We were told that on the evening of 18 January, in the district of Ordubad, a border post came under fire from automatic weapons. At the same time a border detail that arrived to protect the border came under fire. There were no casualties in either case. The border guards refrained from returning fire.

Attempted illegal border crossings continue, and in a number of places pontoon crossings have been laid across the River Araks. Some local inhabitants are trying to ship television sets and other domestic equipment across the border. On 18 January, in the district of Ilichevsk, a border detail detained a vehicle carrying several people with rifles and color televisions—they were preparing to take them across to Iran. The border guards were able to push the violators back beyond the border zone. In the same district several armed members of the People's Front approached a border post, stating that they themselves would now guard the border. They, too, were driven out of the border zone.

Threats against the border guards continue. In the district of Dzhulfa local inhabitants demanded that the border post command remove combat hardware from the border and stop patrolling—otherwise there would be retaliatory actions.

In the afternoon of 18 January, in the region of the settlement of Shakhtakhty, 354 people who had unlawfully crossed the border in the period since 1 January were transferred to the Soviet side in an organized fashion. They were all searched by the border guards. The purpose of the search was to prevent the carrying of weapons. However, according to information available, attempts to bring weapons unlawfully into the USSR are continuing. There is information on preparations for the shipping of a large consignment of arms and ammunition across the border.

Iranian Police Enter Lenkoran

*LD2001182890 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1723 GMT 20 Jan 90*

[Text] Moscow, 20 Jan (TASS)—The introduction of a state of emergency in Baku has created conditions to stabilize the situation. People have grown tired of the disorders and hope that the measure that has been adopted will be a guarantee against an escalation of violence and banditry. Part of the population of the capital of Azerbaijan is beginning to soberly evaluate the activity of the leaders of the National Front. Indignant voices are heard more and more frequently against them: "You promised to settle the situation in a peaceful way, but you provoked the introduction of troops, and you put young people at the forefront while you yourselves hid behind their backs."

The extremists are trying to avenge the collapse of their ambitious plans to seize power by terrorizing peaceful citizens: In the last 24 hours they have committed 43 pogroms and acts of arson. Inciting calls not to submit and to resist the military authorities and law and order bodies are being heard. The wife of a soldier died in her own apartment at the hands of bandits.

According to information that is coming in, the leaders of the National Front and the bands of terrorists subject to them are hindering the establishment of law and order on the Soviet-Iranian border, thereby trying to give an internal conflict an international flavor.

Functionaries of the National Front who have crossed into Iranian territory are taking part in various sorts of anti-Soviet actions. At the same time, on Soviet territory in the sector of the Lenkoran border unit the appearance of about 100 Iranian police has been noted. A citizen of Iran spoke on Lenkoran radio and expressed his "delight at the events in Azerbaijan." Iranians who have violated the border are buying up goods in Soviet stores, which is causing dissatisfaction among the border population of Azerbaijan. A stepping up of the border guard is being observed on Turkish territory, with the aim of preventing refugees from crossing.

An alarming situation continues to exist in Yerevan and in Armenia as a whole. As before, there are still cases of thefts of weapons, ammunition, and explosives. Thus, 136 pistols, 18,000 rounds for them, and four tonnes of explosives have been stolen.

On 20 January, carrying out the decree on the imposition of a state of emergency in Baku, forces of the internal troops and the Soviet Army removed the blockade of military encampments [gorodki] and are clearing away obstructions on the roads.

Refusing to submit to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree, the organizers of the disturbances are obstructing in every way the operations of the troops that have been brought into Baku; they are setting up new barriers made of trucks and buses, and are opening fire on some places.

Carrying out the set assignment, the internal troops and units of the Soviet Army and USSR KGB have set about eliminating the consequences of the arbitrary action, protecting the rights of citizens, and restoring public order and buildings of public life. Railways and other communications are being taken under the protection of the troops.

At a number of outposts of the Nakhichevan, Megri, and Artashat border detachments, the extremists are being forced out and the situation on the state border is being taken under control

'Mass Crossings' at Border Continue

*PM2001173090 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
21 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 2*

[F. Ivanov report: "From the Soviet-Iranian Border"]

[Text] The situation on the Soviet-Iranian border remains extremely complex. Mass crossings of the border continue, and extremists are trying to prevent the stabilization of the situation and the restoration of the normal border protection regime.

As B. Golyshev, deputy chief of the USSR KGB Border Forces Political Directorate, told IZVESTIYA's correspondent, on 18 January several Iranian policemen [zhendarmy] crossed the border onto USSR territory. At 1400 hours on the same day a representative of Iran spoke on Lenkoran radio, expressing delight over the events in Azerbaijan.

On 19 January mass crossings of the border continued. According to rough estimates, several thousand people crossed to Iranian territory. About 1,000 crossed to the USSR's territory. Movements of troop subunits that have been placed on combat readiness were observed on Turkish territory in close proximity to the border.

At a number of border posts of the Nakhichevan and Megrinskiy border detachments and on the Azerbaijan sector of the Artashatskiy border detachment, border guards succeeded in pushing back the extremists from the border zone without using weapons. Border forces personnel are showing restraint and readiness to restore law and order on the border.

V. Kryuchkov, chairman of the USSR KGB, and I. Kalinichenko, chief of the border troops, have sent a message to Transcaucasus Border District personnel calling on the border guards to show political maturity and restraint and to be guided by reason in resolving the complex problems on the state border and in their relations with the population.

Border Guards Form 'Mutual Understanding'

*PM2101193090 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
22 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4*

[F. Ivanov report: "From the Soviet-Iranian Border"]

[Text] As B. Golyshev, deputy chief of the USSR KGB Border Troops Political Directorate, told the editorial office, mutual understanding is developing between Soviet and Iranian border guards.

In the evening of 20 January a meeting of border commissars took place in Astara. A spokesman for the Iranian side expressed the desire for the speediest imposition of order on the border and provisions for the admission of Soviet citizens to Iranian territory. He also stated that he will adopt resolute measures with regard to Iranian citizens crossing the border. Border posts have already been set up on Iranian territory in some sectors in the Prishibskiy Border Detachment district.

The Transcaucasus Border District command and the USSR KGB border troops command are continuing to receive appeals from border guards serving on the Soviet-Iranian border. They say that insufficiently energetic actions to resolve conflict situations in the border regions of Azerbaijan and on the border itself are leading to increased activity by extremists and boosting their readiness to take unlawful action. The border guards personnel insist that USSR people's deputies should come to the conflict region to make an objective assessment of the situation.

On 20 January, after the clearing of blockades, additional units of border troops arrived in the regions of the Lenkoranskiy and Prishibskiy Border Detachments and occupied their allotted service posts.

On the line was the Nakhichevan Border Detachment command. They told us that since the adoption of the decision on the secession of the autonomous republic from the USSR, anti-Soviet sentiments are growing rapidly, especially in opposition to the presence of border troops on the territory of Nakhichevan. Despite the fact that in recent days the border guards have succeeded in preventing mass border crossings here, it is increasingly difficult to maintain the border regime. In Ilichevskiy Rayon local inhabitants have begun to build crossings across the River Araks. An embankment is being made for a bridge and there are attempts to drive piles and supports into the river bed. The border guards are trying to persuade the population to renounce their unlawful actions.

On 21 January the situation on the Nakhichevan sector of the border deteriorated sharply: Spontaneous rallies are taking place in border cities and settlements, at which anti-Soviet slogans predominate and demands are made for the withdrawal of border troops. In Dzhulf, party documents and Lenin's works are being burned and the monument to Vladimir Ilich has been razed to the ground.

From early in the morning of 21 January, ultimatums have been presented to the border guards demanding that either they protect the Azerbaijanis from aggression, or they leave the border. One such ultimatum was presented to the border detachment command. It contains a demand for joint protection of a dam on the

River Araks against "Armenian extremists." The ultimatum expires at 1700 the same day. Otherwise the reaction could be unpredictable.

IZVESTIYA's correspondent was told by the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs that on 20 January mass border crossings continued on sectors of the Lenkoranskiy and Prishibskiy border detachments. In the region of Pushkino city during one such crossing the Iranian authorities detained Dzhavadov, chief of the local internal affairs department fire service, and Militia Sergeant Shakhveranov. After some time Dzhavadov was returned to the Soviet side. There is no information about Shakhveranov.

Central Press Reports Called 'False'

NC1201110890 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
0440 GMT 10 Jan 90

[From Republican Press Review]

[Text] Azerinform's correspondent Askerov, who traveled to Nakhichevan after the incidents in that region, published an article in today's newspapers entitled: Who Needs Lies? The article completes the views expressed by Dzhililov, first secretary of the Nakhichevan Oblast party committee, on the border incidents. Askerov writes:

International and the union's press organs have been reporting widely on the developments on the Soviet Union's border with Iran in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. Regrettably, most of the reports are false. They are not objective. A number of journalists have reported unconfirmed claims. For example, they have reported that force has been used against the border guards during the incidents, individuals high on alcohol and drugs played an important part in the disturbances, etc. How true is all of this?

Askerov asked Lieutenant Colonel [name indistinct], deputy commander of the Directorate of the Transcaucasus Border Guards, to reply to this question. The officer said: I arrived in Nakhichevan 3 days before the incidents took place and I have witnessed all that happened. First, I do not agree with the way the dispute has been covered by the central press organs. There has not been any dispute between the local people and the border guards. I talked with hundreds of people during that time. None of them was intoxicated or under the influence of narcotic substances. I must say that I agree with most of the proposals put forward by the people. Why should fertile land, on which the border obstructions have been placed, not be used? Why should the Azerbaijanis living on both sides of the border not be able to meet with each other?

Continuing Conflicts on Border

NC2001084090 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
1707 GMT 19 Jan 90

[AZERINFORM report]

[Text] Buses and trolleybuses are not operating in the streets of Baku which [words indistinct]. All are parked at the main stations in the city, which has a population of 2 million. Many establishments are not working. The appeal to the peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia by the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers was broadcast by the radio and television network. A call was made during the mass meetings organized in Baku and 11 other cities in the republic for a general strike to begin today. It was demanded that the territorial claims of the republic which has adopted a hostile stand against us be abandoned and that military units be withdrawn from Baku and sent to the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and rayons bordering Armenia. It was stated that the imposition of a curfew could have unknown consequences.

The participants in the meeting in Baku surrounded the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee building and prevented Central Committee officials from going to work. Employees at the printing works are not working. The republic's newspapers and the central newspapers printed in Baku did not appear today.

Border obstructions were set on fire and destroyed with the participation of border guards along a 50-km stretch of land in Dzhahalabadskiy Rayon on the Soviet-Iranian border. The people who gathered on both sides of the border dispersed peacefully after greeting one another.

Armenian bandits fired on a bus in Lachinskiy Rayon and on a quarantine [karantin] post in Il'ichevskiy Rayon in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. A number of Azerbaijani combatants in Kubatinskiy and Agdamskiy Rayons have been disarmed. Several Armenian bandits raided (?Khirhavan) town in the NKAO's Mardakertskiy Rayon, which is inhabited by Azerbaijanis. The raid was thwarted and no one was injured. [Words indistinct] infiltrated in to (?Chimen) town in Fizulinskiy Rayon, which is inhabited by Azerbaijanis. Fortunately, there were no casualties there either.

Since the section of the Azerbaijan railways network in Armenia has been continuously blocked, 143 railway freight cars, 115 of which were bound for Armenia and 28 for the NKAO, are stranded on the tracks.

Obviously, the situation remains tense. However, the people have not lost hope. They believe that a way out of the current situation will be found.

Our correspondent reports from Sal'yany that a number of Iranian citizens arrived in the town to meet their relatives after the Soviet-Iranian border was opened with the help of border guards in Dzhahalabadskiy Rayon. Participants in a meeting held in the rayon center after the border was opened noted that they approved of the agreement reached between the countries on opening the border. The Iranian citizens toured the rayon center, held talks with residents, and met with their relatives.

'Many Casualties' in Clashes With Popular Front

NC2001061690 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
0500 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] Dear listeners, here is a report on the situation in Baku city:

As was reported earlier, the extremist and criminal forces of the popular front have strained the situation in the republic by resorting to force in an effort to bring down the government of Azerbaijan. Through fabrications and rumors, they have halted city transportation services, blockaded government buildings, and occupied the radio and television station. They have (?deployed combatants) at city transportation (?centers) and have even begun searching citizens. An abnormal situation has been created in the city. [passage indistinct]

The Popular Front has declared martial law [hususiy vaziyet] in the capital, thus compelling the USSR Supreme Soviet to declare a state of emergency in Baku. Military units are being sent to the city. The Popular Front combatants have set up barricades to block roads and have even used arms. There were many casualties as military units were compelled to open fire.

'Nearly 60' Killed in Baku, Condolences Expressed

NC2001140590 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
1220 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] Notice by General [name indistinct], military commandant of Baku City:

The situation in Baku remains very tense. The extremists are not aware that they have caused many deaths and injuries. They are storing arms to (?cause the death of many more of their people) through deception and [words indistinct]. Baku is in a state of mourning today. Nearly 60 residents of Baku, (?including military personnel) and their families, have been killed. The life of each and every person is valuable. I convey my condolences to the families and friends of those who have died.

There is no need for these meaningless deaths. I want the people of Azerbaijan and all the workers of Baku to live in peace and security.

[Signed] General [name indistinct], military commandant of Baku City.

Baku Military Commandant Dubinyak Issues Orders

Cites Casualty Figures

NC2101184990 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
1750 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Text] Attention! We now present the latest notice by Lieutenant General Dubinyak, military commandant of Baku:

I announce with deep regret that 83 persons died on 19 and 20 January. Fourteen of them were military personnel and their family members [aile uzuvleri]. The injured are being treated in the medical centers in the city and military zones. The city soviet executive committee is arranging for the funeral services.

You can obtain information on the people you wish to inquire about from the city internal affairs administration.

According to a rumor that has been spread in the city, a [word indistinct] individual is the commandant of one of the Baku districts. I wish to inform you that this is a baseless rumor.

You have just heard a notice by the military commandant of Baku.

Issues Appeal for 'Understanding'

LD2001145390 Baku Domestic Service in Russian
0204 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] Attention! Attention! We are broadcasting an important report an appeal by the Military Commandant of the city of Baku to the population of the city:

Esteemed citizens of the city of Baku!

In connection with the sharp deterioration in the situation in the city of Baku, on 20 January 1990 the provisions of a decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on the introduction of a state of emergency have been disseminated. As a result of illegal actions by the People's Front and by nationalistic and anti-Soviet groupings trying to seize power, life in Baku has been entirely paralyzed. The work of the transportation facilities has been stopped, enterprises have ground to a halt, school lessons have been curtailed, and roads, railways, airports, and deployment points of troop units have been blockaded. The buildings of the Communist Party Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet, and the Council of Ministers of the republic have been blockaded.

Meetings are continuing, and calls have resounded for the violent overthrow of power and for Azerbaijan to leave the USSR. Threats of physical violence have been made. Statements by the leaders of the People's Front, which were made at meetings with the leadership of the republic, that the front will not aggravate the atmosphere have proved to be untrue. When subunits of internal troops and of the Soviet Army were deployed to take control of rayons, extremists and groups of guerrillas attacked them and servicemen's barracks. Blood was shed.

Among the population indignation is growing at the disorders. Thousands of Baku people are appealing to party, local soviet, and law-and-order bodies with a request to guarantee their safety and to restore normal life in the city. In these conditions, and upon the

instructions of the USSR Minister of the Interior, Lieutenant General (Vladimir Sergeyevich Dubinyak) has been appointed commandant of the city of Baku.

So as to normalize the situation in the city, the following is categorically prohibited under the rules which have been established:

1. The holding of strikes, assemblies, and street meetings, street processions and other mass events.
2. The use of duplication equipment and also of radio and television transmitting devices.
3. Citizens on the streets or in other public places during the curfew without special passes and documents which identify them, or likewise leaving their places of residence without documents identifying them.
4. The movement of any vehicles on the territory of the city without special passes.
5. The keeping by citizens of firearms and cold steel weapons, of explosive substances, and of incendiary mixtures in apartments and in other public places.
6. The verbal or physical banishment of persons who are implementing measures in connection with the state of emergency.

In the interests of upholding firm order in the city, the bodies implementing the state of emergency are granted the right:

1. To stop unlawful actions by organizations and by unofficial associations of citizens or to disband them.
2. To limit the entry and exit of citizens to and from the city, to evict citizens from rayons where it is dangerous for them to live—provided that other residential premises are made available to them—and, where necessary, to oblige citizens who are not residents of a given place to leave.
3. To seize from citizens and in necessary cases from enterprises, establishments, and organizations, firearms and cold-steel weapons, ammunition, explosive substances and materials, strong chemicals and poisonous substances.
4. To check the documents and, in necessary cases, available data about possession of arms by citizens, and where they refuse to show them voluntarily, to carry out searches of citizens and belongings.
5. To administratively detain people for a period of up to 30 days if they provoke violation of public order and spread provocative rumors, or actively impede the exercise by citizens or by officials of their legitimate rights and duties, or violate the rules of the state of emergency. In accordance with the law, to bring to criminal account persons who commit crimes.
6. To monitor the passport regulations at the apartments of citizens.

Our confidence in mutual understanding is based on the fact that internationalist Baku will react with understanding to the certain limits introduced for the period of the state of emergency as temporary and necessary measures. And today, with a feeling of deep personal responsibility for the destiny of hundreds of thousands of people, I call upon you to observe the regime, to

observe the necessity to display common sense and restraint, wisdom, inner calm, and patience so as to rally for the upkeep of order in the city.

[Signed] The commandant of the city of Baku.

Calls for Surrender of Arms

NC2101194490 *Baku Domestic Service in Azeri*
1754 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Text] Attention! We now present a notice by the military commandant of Baku:

Baku Residents, I inform you that Baku's state of emergency, which has been declared in accordance with the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decision, will be lifted after the soviet organs fully restore control over the situation in the city and establish security for the people. The strength of the state of emergency regime will be reduced as this work is fulfilled.

I urge you to assist the city and district people's deputies soviet executive committees and the city and district party committees. All forces must be channeled toward the restoration of normal life in the transportation services, industrial establishments, and schools.

Do not allow the disruption of public law and order. Obstruct the provocateurs who spread various rumors and who use inexperienced youths for that purpose. Do not allow the extremist elements, who bring unhappiness to the people and tarnish the honorable name of the people of Baku by their activities, to have their way. It is only through this way that the peaceful life of each and every city resident can be maintained and bloodshed can be prevented.

In order to restore public law and order and peace in the city, the youths who illegally possess arms must surrender their weapons to the officials of the district military command headquarters by 0900 on 25 January. Those who voluntarily surrender their arms within this period will not be brought to account. Nor will they be imprisoned.

[Signed] Lieutenant General Dubinyak, internal affairs, military commandant of Baku.

You have been listening to the notice of the military commandant of Baku.

Orders Work To Resume 22 Jan

NC2101083290 *Baku Domestic Service in Azeri*
0815 GMT 21 Jan 90

["Order" by Lieutenant General Dubinyak, military commandant of Baku; date not given, read by announcer]

[Text] Baku was peaceful last night. There were no deaths among city residents.

Eighteen individuals were (?penalized) for violating the curfew restrictions. [passage indistinct]

(?Regardless of earlier appeals), people were not allowed to leave their homes. This will remain in effect until 22 January. As of that day, all establishments, organizations, and food supply units must work [word indistinct].

The (?tragic) situation that has been created in the city [word indistinct] the Baku workers. Orderly compliance with the laws and regulations is demanded.

[Signed] Lt Gen Dubinyak, military commandant of Baku

Baku 'Peaceful' Last Night

NC2201054190 *Baku Domestic Service in Azeri*
0435 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Notice by Lieutenant General Dubinyak, military commandant of Baku, dated 22 January—read by announcer]

[Text] The situation was peaceful in Baku city last night. I express deep gratitude to the people of the city for their cautious and responsible behavior.

Forty-three individuals were detained for violating the curfew hours and the passport regime. A hunting rifle and a knife were seized.

Incidents of leaflets with anti-Soviet content being distributed have been brought to light.

There have been no casualties among the city's residents.

I strongly urge the people of Baku to maintain peace and comply with public law and order.

All personnel entrusted with the preservation of law and order are taking the necessary measures to protect the life, honor, and dignity of every Soviet person.

Do not give in to provocations.

I would like to remind you once again that as of 22 January, information on the situation in the city and orders from the commandant will be broadcast three times a day at 0800, 1300, and 2000. [0400, 0900, and 1600 GMT]

[Signed] Lt Gen Dubinyak, military commandant of Baku.

Refutes 'Provocative Rumors'

NC2201121690 *Baku Domestic Service in Russian*
0945 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Notice from the military commandant of the Baku city special district—read by announcer]

[Text] In view of the fact that television is not functioning in Baku, that the central and local newspapers are not appearing, and that for all practical purposes the radio remains the sole source of information, all kinds of provocative rumors and fabrications are being spread.

Taking advantage of this, irresponsible individuals are playing on the most noble human sentiments.

During the last few days there have been strong rumors that a large group of students of Azerbaijani and other nationalities at the General Military College [Obshchev-oyskovoye Uchilishche] had seized weapons stores and other supplies and were putting up resistance to the troops. Last night a group of people's deputies of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic and representatives of the Baku public visited the grounds of the military college and were convinced of the unfounded nature of this fabrication.

Rumors constantly being put about that [words indistinct] are being stored by the thousands in the stadium of the Caspian flotilla and in other places are a blatant lie.

The radio station [name indistinct] which is on the air is particularly (?to blame). This terrible lie is necessary to the provocateurs so they can exacerbate the situation and cause a new explosion. This cannot be permitted to happen.

As already reported, 83 persons, including 14 military personnel, have been killed since the start of the incidents. Not one citizen was killed yesterday or today and those who live in Baku should do everything possible to prevent further victims. I call on you for calm and not to allow unlawful activities.

Do not give in to provocations, do not allow the violation of public order.

All law and order personnel are doing everything necessary to protect each Soviet person.

[Signed] Lieutenant General Dubinyak, commandant of the Baku city special district

Mutalibov Appeals to Azerbaijani People

21 January

NC2101205790 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
1915 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Text] Attention! This is Baku. Dear listeners, we present the appeal made by Ayaz Mutalibov, chairman of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, to the people of Azerbaijan:

[Begin recording] Dear fellow countrymen and comrades, I am appealing to you as the chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers and member of the party leadership. Our land has experienced great grief. People are being killed. Together with all the people of Azerbaijan, I am grieved by the fact that people have died and I bow my head before their fathers, mothers, brothers, and sisters. Every single one of us is aware of our responsibilities in connection with the incidents that have taken place.

I share the feelings and emotions of our people in connection with the deployment of military units in Baku city.

I sincerely assert that we took all the measures required to prevent the declaration of a state of emergency in the republic's capital and we did not spare any effort in that regard. I wish to say that, together with the other leaders of the republic, I met with Comrade Gorbachev yesterday and discussed the situation. We examined the measures required to have the military units withdrawn from Baku and to establish law and order in all the republic's rayons and on Azerbaijan's borders. We were promised that provocations will be obstructed in Azerbaijan's rayons bordering Armenia, starting from the Chauskiy, Araratskiy, and Megrinskiy rayons.

Furthermore, we also discussed the question of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. On behalf of the people of Azerbaijan, we categorically noted that we shall do everything within our power for the restoration of our republic's sovereign rights in relation to the administration of the NKAO. The country's leadership resolutely promised us that it will give us every assistance for the settlement of this problem.

Practical measures are being taken for the establishment of the republic's sovereignty in the NKAO and for the strengthening of the struggle against the extremists. The Organizers of a number of nationalist and extremist groups there have been arrested and brought to account.

The refugee and other social and economic problems of our republic were also discussed during the meeting. All our problems will be resolved.

I wish to make it known that the republic's government will strongly and resolutely pursue the policy of establishing Azerbaijan's sovereignty and independence and finding effective ways to use the republic's natural resources for the benefit of our people.

I wish to appeal to you again. Esteemed fellow countrymen, elderly people, mothers, brothers and sisters, youths, intellectuals, workers, peasants, and all our toilers, come let us join all our forces in order to save our people from disaster. Let us do everything possible to establish peace and law and order in our beautiful city and in each and every corner of Azerbaijan.

[end recording]

22 January

LD2201115190 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
0300 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Attention. This is Baku. Esteemed listeners, now listen to an appeal to the people of Azerbaijan by Ayaz Mutalibov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the republic:

[Begin Mutalibov recording] Dear fellow citizens, comrades, I appeal to you as chairman of the Council of

Ministers of the republic as member of the party leadership. Our territory is experiencing great suffering. People are dying. Together with all people of Azerbaijan I feel deep sadness that people are being killed and I bow before their fathers and mothers and brothers and sisters. Every one of us understands our personal responsibility for the incidents which have taken place and share the feeling and anxiety of our people in connection with the entry of troops into the city of Baku.

I would like to point out sincerely that we took all measures to avoid the state of emergency in the capital of the republic. We did all we could. I want to point out that yesterday, together with other leaders of the republic, we were with Comrade Gorbachev and discussed the situation which has come about. We also discussed measures for taking troops out of Baku and maintaining law and order in all regions of our republic and on the borders of Azerbaijan. We were strongly promised that provocations would be stopped in the border regions of Azerbaijan with Armenia, and first of all in Goris, Ararat, and Megri Rayons. We also discussed the question of Nagorno Karabakh.

On behalf of the people of Azerbaijan we resolutely stated that we would do all we could for restoring the sovereign rights of our republic in the administration of this oblast. The country's leadership decisively promised to give us all assistance in resolving this question.

Practical measures are being taken to restore the sovereignty of the republic in the oblast and strengthening the struggle against extremists. A number of organizers of nationalist and extremist groups from there have been arrested and brought to criminal account. During the meeting, issues connected with the problems of immigrants as well as other social and economic problems of our republic were discussed. All questions will be solved positively.

I state here that the government of the republic will strongly and resolutely pursue a policy of securing the sovereignty and independence of Azerbaijan and will search for real ways to use the natural resources of the republic for the benefit of our people. I would like to appeal to you again. Our esteemed compatriots, elders, mothers, brothers and sisters, youth, intellectuals, workers and peasants and all toilers of the republic, let us join forces for saving our own people from disaster and do all we can for maintaining peace and law and order in our beloved city and in every corner of our Azerbaijan. [end recording]

Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Head Condemns Emergency
NC2001161590 *Baku Domestic Service in Azeri*
1515 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Statement by El'mira Kafarova, Chairwoman of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium on 20 January in Baku—recorded]

[Text] Attention, attention, today is 20 January 1990. We now present a disclosure by El'mira Kafarova, Chairwoman of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium:

[Begin Kafarova recording] In view of the gross violation of the Azerbaijan SSR's sovereignty, I, on behalf of the people of Azerbaijan SSR, voice my categorical opposition to the declaration of a state of emergency in the Azerbaijan SSR's capital, Baku. Employing technical means for heavy combat to impose the state of emergency and using automatic arms are regarded as untimely measures against the peaceful people. This has resulted in the death of many people. Youth, women, men, and children have been killed.

With a full sense of responsibility, I wish to make it known that the Azerbaijan SSR's supreme sovereignty organ and administrative organs have not adopted a decision on imposing a state of emergency in Baku City. Nor have they agreed that such a decision be adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet. The responsibility for the blood that has been shed lies directly with the USSR organs and their officials, who have adopted this decision and put it into effect. The people of Azerbaijan will never forgive anyone for the tragic way their sons and daughters have been killed. [end recording]

Azerbaijan Deputies Summoned to 21 Jan Meeting
NC2101124690 *Baku Domestic Service in Azeri*
1200 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Unscheduled announcement]

[Text] Attention! This is Baku. Here is Bakhtiyar Vahabzade, Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] deputy and people's artist:

[Begin Vahabzade recording] Esteemed fellow countrymen, mothers, fathers, sisters, and brothers: On this serious and tragic day, I convey, in profound grief, my condolences to all the families of our fellow countrymen who died for the sake of our independence and freedom. I also convey my condolences to the entire nation. I am in mourning.

I call on the USSR people's deputies and on the deputies of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet to use all means available to be at the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet building at 1730 local time today. An urgent and extraordinary meeting of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet has been called. It is essential that all of you participate.

I repeat: I call on the USSR Supreme Soviet deputies and all Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet deputies to use all means available to be at the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet building at 1730 local time today. An urgent and extraordinary meeting of the Supreme Soviet has been called. It is essential that all of you participate. [end recording]

Azerbaijan Declares Days of Mourning 20-22 Jan

NC2001133390 *Baku Domestic Service in Azeri*
1200 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] In view of the tragic incidents which took place on the night of 19-20 January and resulted in deaths, 20, 21, and 22 January have been declared as days of mourning.

[Signed] The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, and the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers

Azerbaijan Council of Trade Unions Appeals to Workers

NC1901192290 *Baku Domestic Service in Azeri*
1707 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Appeal by the Azerbaijan Council of Trade Unions to the republic's workers:

Dear comrades: Azerbaijanis are experiencing the most difficult days in their history. Failing to resolve the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKA0] problem has made the people impatient and caused a tense situation in Baku and in the republic's other rayons. The blood of innocent people is being shed.

The Azerbaijan Council of Trade Unions categorically condemns all violent activities and calls on the republic's workers to wage a determined struggle against hooliganism and activities against the people. Our people are waging a just struggle for their own land, honor, and dignity. The present situation indicates that this struggle will not be [word indistinct]. However, we are right, and we shall achieve victory.

At this critical time, we call on all Azerbaijanis to maintain unity and to avoid being carried away by emotions and influenced by subversive activities. We demand that lawless activities be investigated without delay. Those who organized and inspired the NKA0 adventure, including those who have been openly violating Soviet laws, must account for their actions before the people.

The Azerbaijan Council of Trade Unions calls on all workers and the people of many nationalities in Azerbaijan to quickly stabilize the situation in Baku and in the republic's other cities and rayons.

'Accident' Halts Azerbaijan TV Casts

NC1901185390 *Baku Domestic Service in Azeri*
1705 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Attention comrades, attention; greetings dear listeners: Azerbaijan television stopped at 1922 local time. There is no need at all for concern. There was an accident involving the power supply for the television station. Repairs are being made.

Baku Radio Reports Imposition of Martial Law

NC2001101790 *Baku Domestic Service in Azeri*
0745 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] Esteemed residents of Baku: In view of the tense situation, martial law has been declared in accordance with the USSR Supreme Soviet decision of 15 January. In order to establish law and order in the city, protect the safety of city residents, and [words indistinct] the establishments and [word indistinct], a curfew has been imposed between 2300 and 0600.

Situation in Azerbaijan Rayons Discussed

NC2001094590 *Baku Domestic Service in Azeri*
1707 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Report by Eyyub Mamedov]

[Text] Lachinskiy Rayon is among the troubled rayons in our republic. I was able to speak to Mamedov, first secretary of the Lachinskiy Rayon Party Committee [Raykom], by telephone this morning. Mamedov said that although widespread tension continues to prevail in the rayon, some relaxation of this tension has been felt as a result of the declaration of martial law in Stepanakert. The situation has been peaceful for 2 days now.

The Kutbatly-Zangelan road was opened yesterday morning. Meanwhile, the republic's rayons continue to help meet the needs of our people. The people of Lachin are particularly pleased with the contributions of the people of Sumgait and Barda. The people of Sumgait have been making multifaceted contributions to our rayon.

Transportation is the main problem at the present time. Freight to the rayon is being carried via (?Khoradiz), Imishly, Agdam, and Yevlakh, tripling or quadrupling the distance involved. There are not enough vehicles. The republic's Ministry of Transportation and the state agroindustrial committee are [words indistinct] at the present time.

Encouraged by the report from Lachin that the imposition of the curfew in Stepanakert has improved the situation, I contacted Lachinskiy Raykom. Ferruh Guseynov, who was formerly the deputy of the rayon soviet executive committee and who now works in Shusha, answered the telephone and gave me shocking news. Guseynov said that four people from the rayon were taken hostage yesterday. The incident occurred when the (?Karayush) section of the rayon's internal affairs department asked the Shusha Rayon internal affairs department to send someone to receive accounts. The department's accountant and two militia workers took the necessary documents and traveled to Stepanakert by car. They were stopped in Stepanakert and taken hostage with their driver. This incident further aggravated the situation in Shusha. Although it has contacted Stepanakert, the raykom has not been able to learn anything about the situation. However, it is known that the four are alive and being held hostage.

A number of incidents have taken place in various towns in the rayons over the past 2 days. Armenians fired on Malybeyli town during the night of 16-17 January. (?Kirkidzhavan) was subjected to a mass attack during the night of 17-18 January. Many vehicles were involved in this attack. A tragedy would have taken place had advance warning not been given and the attack thwarted in time.

The power supply was cut in the town of [name indistinct] in the rayon. A similar incident took place in the town of (?Khareli) 2 days ago.

According to a report from Kubatlinksy Rayon, there have been no serious incidents there for the past 2 days and the situation is peaceful. However, there have been (?clashes) in a number of towns (?near the mountains). In a telephone conversation, Yakhyayev, first secretary of Kubatlinksy Raykom, said that more than 500 members of the Popular Front are defending the raykom. A special defense committee has been set up, which is not allowing the nearly 200 military servicemen who have been assigned to the raykom to enter. The matter was to be discussed at 1600 today, but we have been unable to contact the raykom to learn about the outcome of the meeting.

Meanwhile, reports from Zangelanksy and Fizulinskiy Rayons indicate that the situation there is peaceful. Administrations, establishments, and collective and state farms are working. Mekhtiyev, secretary of [name indistinct] Raykom, said that [words indistinct]. A meeting held in the rayons yesterday decided that relief aid should also be extended to the Azerbaijani people living in Tug.

'Martyrs' Funeral To Be Held 22 Jan

NC210111790 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
0945 GMT 21 Jan 90

["Appeal to the citizens of Baku"—read by announcer]

[Text] The martyrs who died in Baku in the last 2 days will be buried in the [word indistinct] in Freedom [Azatlik] Cemetery. The funeral ceremony will take place tomorrow, 22 January, and begin at the main square of the city at 1200.

The families of the deceased are requested to allow the martyrs to be buried in Freedom Cemetery.

We inform the residents of Baku that the funeral ceremony for the martyrs is being organized by the Azerbaijan Popular Front, the Baku City Soviet Executive Committee, the Muslim Board of the Transcaucasus, and the Baku City (?municipality).

Masonry workers are called on to report to [name indistinct] with their tools.

Dear residents of Baku, let us observe the day of the funeral in accordance with the laws and regulations. Let us honor the unforgettable memory of our youth.

You can apply to the Azerbaijan Popular Front and its rayon branches for more information.

22 Jan Funeral Reported

NC2201115990 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
1035 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Unscheduled announcement]

[Text] This is Baku. Three days ago, the republic's government declared 3 days of mourning in Azerbaijan in memory of the innocent people who died in Baku city.

All the people of Azerbaijan and Baku are in tears and mourning.

The innocent martyrs were buried in (?Dagishchi) Park today.

They were the lights of our hearts. Mothers, fathers, [word indistinct], grandmothers, fathers [as heard], and elderly citizens, in deep grief we express to you and to all our people our condolences on this [word indistinct] day.

We want to tell the (?families) of the martyrs that this grief is not theirs alone. It is a serious problems, a grief, and a victory for the people of Azerbaijan. [passage indistinct]

Let the light in your eyes and the warmth in your hearts never be extinguished. Never lose hope. Let the souls of those who have passed away be blessed. God bless them all.

Baku Radio 19 Jan Commentary Views Situation

NC2001155990 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
1707 GMT 19 Jan 90

[S.Mamedov commentary]

[Text] Most of you must have heard the appeal made by the country's leadership to the peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia via the radio and television networks. I wish to share my views on this and other matters with you. The appeal noted that people have been killed as a result of the tragic incidents. Military centers and establishments affiliated with internal affairs are being raided in order to seize arms. Combatant groups are being set up in the two republics.

I wish to note at this point that it was impossible that the central organs did not realize earlier that this situation would occur. Azerbaijan's sovereign borders were repeatedly violated by Armenia during the past 2 years. Azerbaijan's territorial integrity was coveted. The central organs were well aware of the fact that combatant groups were established in Armenia and in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKA0] to realize the malicious policies of the Armenians. They received supplies of modern arms. They organized attacks on the peaceful people of Azerbaijan, and they continue to do so now.

Have the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and the other official organs ever considered where the Armenians acquired their arms? Are they considering this question now? To where would this state of affairs lead? It was noted later that the Soviet people demand we take resolute measures. Of course, resolute measures must be taken. However, was it not possible to put resolute measures into effect when the Azerbaijanis were being expelled from Armenia and from the NKAO, which is their own homeland. Did the people of Azerbaijan not voice a just demand in that regard? Was it not the duty of the central organs to put concrete measures into effect at the time instead of trying to establish a balance? Was it not their duty to make an objective assessment of the situation at the time? The biased approach of the central authorities and their failure to take timely measures gave more encouragement to the Armenian nationalists. The situation has come to a point where Armenia has been able to send armed combatant groups into the Khanlarskiy and Shaumyanskiy Rayons, which are inside Azerbaijan. The unbelievable activities of bearded Armenians in the Khanlarskiy and Shaumyanskiy Rayons now are cases in point.

Bearded and armed Armenians landed in Mikhailovka town in Aumyashkiy Rayon today and demanded at gunpoint that the people of Russian extraction, who live in the town, should move out. Had this been done by the Azerbaijanis, the U.S. Senate would have probably interfered once again. Many organizations in Europe move in the wake of the Armenian Tashnaks. We must point out clearly that the Azerbaijanis are not only struggling against the Armenian nationalists in their just cause. We must also struggle against various Armenian associations in foreign countries and with the supporters of the Armenians in the Soviet Union. This is due to the fact that a number of the central mass media organs, particularly the central television, are influenced by the Armenian extremists. Otherwise, how could the central television know that bearded Armenians have cut the water supply of the people of Gendzha at a point inside Khanlarskiy Rayon? Furthermore, how could the central television know while leveling calumnies against the leading officials in Shaumyanskiy Rayon that Tashnaks were captured while carrying arms? While regretting that martial law has not been imposed on Baku, how could the central television realize that that authority has been vested in the state organs in Azerbaijan by the decree issued by the USSR Supreme Soviet? It is strange to sit in Moscow and have a better idea of the situation than the republic's government has.

There are many more examples. Regardless of the accurate information in the hands of a number of influential organs, is TASS not aware that the Popular Front of Azerbaijan and its leaders have saved thousands of Armenians during these troubled times? Regrettably, the leaders of the popular front have been accused in that regard. The calumny was carried on "Vremya" on the central television yesterday. However, [words indistinct]. You must have heard what Comrade Mikhailov,

Deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Council of Nationalities, said while being interviewed on the republic's television yesterday. He said that the central press and television are making a biased assessment of the incidents and that the Armenian nationalists and those who follow them, who have grossly violated the USSR Constitution, are the cause of all the tragic incidents.

In conclusion, I wish to recall that the Artsakh organization, Arthesakh students union, and the Artsakh National Council have been abolished. Let us now observe whether the Armenian nationals will comply with the demands of the state of emergency and refrain from shedding blood in our border rayons.

Armenia Acts on Moscow Decision on Refugees

*NC2001170390 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian
1300 GMT 20 Jan 90*

[Text] The Armenian Council of Ministers has received directives and informs the pertinent organizations and citizens about the 17 January 1990 decision of the USSR Council of Ministers on providing urgent assistance to citizens who were forced to leave Azerbaijan as a result of the exacerbation in problems of interethnic relations.

The Azerbaijan Council of Ministers has been instructed to adopt urgent measures to ensure the security of Armenian citizens of Azerbaijan, and in case of an extreme emergency, to organize the departure of the citizens who are forced to leave the republic. The Council is also to inventory and protect the houses and furniture left behind by these citizens.

The USSR Government has instructed the Azerbaijan and Armenian Council of Ministers to ensure coordination for the temporary settlement of the citizens forced to depart Azerbaijan and for the solution of the problems connected with their livelihood, social, and medical services. The coordination of the work of the Council of Ministers of both republics and that of the USSR ministries and departments is placed under the USSR Council of Ministers' state committee on special situations.

The executive committees of the local soviet of people's deputies, on whose territory citizens who had been forced to leave Azerbaijan after 1 January 1990 are temporarily settled, are allowed to pay R100 as a one-time subsidy per person and to pay up to R200 per person for purchases of coats, shoes and other needed items.

The USSR Trade Ministry and USSR state bank have been given the responsibility to supply these items. It has been decided that compensating the citizens who have been forced to leave Azerbaijan for their possessions should be done in accordance with the procedures outlined in the 15 April 1989 decision of the USSR Council of Ministers and in the 20 June 1989 decision of the Armenian Council of Ministers.

The USSR Finance Ministry has been instructed to draw the payments mentioned above, as well as the expenses undertaken by the USSR Communications Ministry and USSR Civil Aviation Ministry for the free transportation of the citizens forced to leave Azerbaijan, from the 1990 reserve fund of the USSR Council of Ministers. The amount will later be deducted from the Azerbaijan budget.

In its extensive decision, the Armenian Council of Ministers has given firm instructions to the republican ministries, state committees, and departments to provide assistance to the refugees.

Armenian Party Operational Committee Meets

*NC2001223390 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian
1700 GMT 20 Jan 90*

[Text] This regular meeting of the operational committee of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Council of Ministers was unlike previous ones. In the past, discussion centered upon ensuring the security of the Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], Shaumyanovskiy and Khnalarskiy Rayons, and upon receiving and settling those forcibly uprooted from Baku. During the 20 January committee meeting, however, discussion basically revolved around stabilizing the situation in Armenia and avoiding provocations.

The republic's workers considered the introduction of martial law in Baku and in some other parts of Azerbaijan to be the only, though belated, correct decision under the present conditions.

A report was delivered to the committee on the situation prevailing in regions bordering Azerbaijan. Yerashkavan in Araratskiy Rayon, Khackik in Yeghegnatsorskiy, Khndzhorut in Azizbekovskiy, Shaghat in Sisianskiy Rayon, and Voskebar and Noyemberyan villages were considered to be in the greatest danger. The Soviet Army units will be deployed there first.

The committee asked for support from the public, and it was underlined that at this moment only an enemy of the Armenian people could allow himself to be dragged into being provoked. This is because the Soviet Army units have the situation under control and have taken the responsibility of protecting Armenian settlements.

The committee also includes members of the Armenian National Movement, who are cooperating with the law enforcement bodies and with the Soviet Army representatives, and are doing everything within the republic, in particular in the border regions, to establish peace.

The situation in Yerevan and in other cities and regions of Armenia is normal. It is still the time for winter semester examinations at the higher education institutes. Despite the economic blockade, which has continued since 11 January, some of the republic's enterprises are

operating. Those enterprise which lack raw materials are repairing lathes and assembly lines.

Probably one of the most important developments recently was the appearance of representatives of some public organizations at the capital's militia departments handing over weapons they had acquired in various ways.

New groups of people forcibly uprooted from Baku are continuing to arrive in Yerevan's Zvartnots airport. The government of Soviet Armenia is doing everything possible to receive and settle them. Regrettably, the number of injured is not meager, but they are given medical care on the spot. In emergency cases they are taken to hospitals. Nearly 200 refugees are now being given medical care in Yerevan hospitals.

Armenian Party Leaders Meet on 'Acute Situation'

*NC2001203490 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian
1700 GMT 20 Jan 90*

[Text] Suren Arutyunyan, chairman of the republic's special situation committee, chaired a meeting of the chairmen of the executive committees of the Yerevan Rayon party committees and of Yerevan Rayon soviets of the people's deputies on 19 January.

Comrade Arutyunyan briefed them about the results of the meeting held at the initiative of the republic's leadership on 17 January at the CPSU Central Committee with Comrade Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet; Comrade Ryzkhov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and Slyunkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

He then dealt in detail with the fundamental problems pertaining to the acute situation prevailing in the region, and those problems facing the Yerevan party and soviet bodies regarding stabilizing the situation in the capital, maintaining public law and order, and preventing provocative acts by irresponsible people.

The necessity of carrying out broad explanatory work among the population, and in particular among the young, and of organizing operational briefings for workers about the measures undertaken to resolve the situation in the region was stressed.

Vladimir Movsisyan, chairman of the operational committee, delivered a report at the meeting.

Concrete and practical measures were formulated for the problems under discussion.

The following participated in the meeting: Comrades Grigor Asatryan, Galust Galoyan, Oleg Lobov, Mikhail Mkrtchyan, and Marat Serobyanyan.

Yerevan Radio Reports Attacks, Casualties*NC2101191090 Yerevan International Service
in Arabic 1730 GMT 21 Jan 90*

[Text] ARMENPRES correspondents have reported that a bloody incident has taken place along the borders of the Armenian republic. Armed Azerbaijani bandits opened fire from the Sadarak village in Nakhichevan at the village of Yeraskhavan in Armenia's Ararat. The attack had been in preparation since the morning. The first burst of gunfire was aimed at industrial establishments. After taking up positions on a ridge overlooking the area, the bandits directed heavy machinegun fire at the village. Two people were killed and a number of others were wounded.

Immediately afterward, self-defense teams were formed. Army troops which were dispatched to the scene are now in control of the area.

Another attack by Azerbaijani bandits took place against Yerank in Armenia's Idzhevskiy rayon 2 nights ago. The village population, however, halted the attack and forced the bandits to flee.

Yerevan Commentary on Blame for Unrest*LD1901135490 Yerevan Domestic Service in Russian
0630 GMT 19 Jan 90*

[Station Commentary]

[Text] Probably none of us these days has missed a single piece of news about what is going on in Nagorno-Karabakh and Azerbaijan. Enough of this news already has accumulated to try to analyze it and [words indistinct] the current situation. So, instead of the usual review [review of the newspaper KOMMUNIST is normally broadcast at this time] we present (?our viewpoint) on what has happened.

[Passage indistinct] Reading the first TASS report that well-armed Azerbaijanis attacked Armenian villages and listening to the "Vremya" television programs saying that the population of an Armenian village in Nagorno-Karabakh, with the help of a troop subunit, rebuffed an attack by Azerbaijani guerrillas, and how efforts were made by Armenians to take Azerbaijanis to a hospital, (?although) the position is often presented otherwise, the federal government finally will understand that it is not the Azerbaijani land that has suffered so much, as has been stated in IZVESTIYA, but it is the Armenian people who have suffered so much.

What is more, reports about the deaths of servicemen at the hands of Azerbaijanis [words indistinct] on the Soviet-Iranian border [words indistinct] the policy conducted by the People's Front of Azerbaijan with the complicity if not the direct leadership of the Azerbaijani government. The second Sumgait [reference to historical massacre] which broke out this week, this time in the capital of Azerbaijan, should have put the final touch to the question of deciding who is the guilty party.

[Words indistinct] concerning a change in the attitude of the central government to the Azerbaijani aggressors and to the whole problem of Nagorno-Karabakh. It is we who are (?indicated as being) the guilty party, since in the decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet announcing a state of emergency, it is precisely the Supreme Soviet Presidium of our republic which is categorically required to take the most resolute steps—I quote—to put a halt to inflammatory actions kindling interethnic passions and ethnic hatred between the two peoples. In the same point of the decree, the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Presidium is merely requested to take all necessary measures to ensure the safety of the population, and—this is indicative—it is not stated precisely which population. These two words, "required" and "requested", concentrate the attitude in the first instance to the Armenian people and in the second to the policy being conducted by Azerbaijan. To call things by their proper names, posing the issue in this way can only be described as cynical. For we know perfectly well [words indistinct] violence against Armenians was heard precisely on the day the decree was issued on Azerbaijani television, and how restrained our mass media have always been. [passage indistinct]

(?It should be) stressed that the Armenian people have never acted against other peoples, in particular against the Russian people. Both the Russian people and the other peoples of our country are suffering from the imperfections of the USSR.

Today we are in the vanguard of the struggle for justice for all, and we hope not just to rely on ourselves, but on the support of the country's democratic forces and the world. The problem of Nagorno-Karabakh is a problem which in one form or another will be encountered by the majority of peoples of our country [words indistinct]. Only a radical about-turn to democracy will give [words indistinct] freedom.

Armenian Religious Head Comments on Situation*NC2001225290 Yerevan International Service in
Armenian
2130 GMT 19 Jan 90*

[Talk by Vazgen I, catholicos of all Armenians; date, place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] Dear and bereaved people, Armenia, our motherland, is indeed again mourning. Attacks were launched recently against the peaceful Armenian population in neighboring Azerbaijan's Shaumyanovskiy Rayon, Getashen, and Baku; these were organized by the extremist Azeri nationalists. Dozens of citizens, almost all Armenians, were victims. We mourn the deaths of the children of our people with deep sorrow. [passage omitted]

We are spiritually depressed by the new incidents and hereby ordain that requiem services be held in the Armenian Apostolic Churches here in Armenia and all

over the world for the peace of the souls of our compatriots who were martyred in Baku, Shaumyanovskiy Rayon, Getashen, and elsewhere. We also call on our churches abroad to condemn the crime effectively and legally and to raise their voices before the public conscience in support of the protection of the life, property, and dignity of the Armenian population of Azerbaijan. We also appealed to the World Council of Churches' headquarters in Switzerland and to other sister churches with the same request. We received supportive replies stating that they share the grief and sorrow of our people and church and express support for the existence and future of the Armenians living in Azerbaijan. [passage omitted]

In our view, peace and harmony can only be established on the basis of protecting people's rights and the rights to national self-determination. We hope that peace will eventually prevail with the help of the Soviet leadership and Armed Forces and that the blockade of Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] will be lifted. In particular, we hope attacks on the peaceful Armenian population will end and that the evildoers will be brought to account before the law. We also consider it necessary that the solid inner unity of our people in Armenia and Artsakh [NKAO] should be maintained and that the close cooperation of the people with the state authority of our fatherland should be bolstered.

In these critical days, it will be dangerous for us all not to uphold this unity and cooperation, and it is dangerous not to maintain a balance in thinking and farsightedness. It is dangerous to place hopes on some assistance expected from afar. I stress this point: I say all this based on the real situation and real possibilities that exist abroad. I will not lead you to the abyss of illusions of sovereignty. I have no right not to say the truth as it really is, even if it is bitter for us today. We must place our hopes in God, in (?mutual-assistance) of peoples and [word indistinct] and in our own forces, and act with wisdom, patience, and optimism.

Therefore, let us continue defending our just cause in cohesion and unity and through the unity of people and our fatherland's government. Let us struggle for the safety of our people. Let us uphold the just right of national self-determination within the harmonious family of the autonomous nations of Soviet Union. [passage omitted]

Situation in Zangezur Still 'Tense'

NC1901193590 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian
1700 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Even though there were no serious incidents in Zangezur during the past 3 days, the situation nevertheless continues to be tense. This was helped by the decree issued by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on establishing a state of emergency in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and in Gorissskiy.

As is known, the extraordinary sessions of the Goris city and rayon soviets of the people's deputies and of the Megrinskiy and Sisianskiy Rayon soviets have condemned the decree and described it as distorting facts and an abortive attempt to equate the incidents taking place in Armenia and Azerbaijan.

The joint session of the Goris city and rayon soviets has specifically proposed that the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet try to bring the republic's people and the Armenian people out of the agonizing situation that has been created and to turn to support and assistance from our country's forces and by international legal organizations abroad and other democratic forces.

Also, under the conditions of the blockade on Armenia's railway and roads, declaring a state of emergency in Gorissskiy was baseless and will destroy our republic's transportation and the popular economy of Kapanskiy and Megrinskiy. It will also make them face an extremely grave situation.

Without exaggerating, it seems as if it was in response to that decree that the Azerbaijan SSR mass media, and in particular, the central media, started to disseminate false reports. In its reports on 15 January, Azerbaijan television said that attacks were launched from Kapanskiy on Azerbaijan's Kubatlu and Zangelar Rayons and at (Goysan, Sadar, Charilu, Paridzhan, and Seydlar) villages. This is an outright lie. Also, the report published in IZVESTIYA on 17 January that Armenian extremists fired at (Sevitlar) village causing the residents to flee is a lie.

It is also a (?source of regret) that the Soviet radio hastens to report—without (?investigating) the matter—that the Armenians were the ones to attack the soldiers in Megrinskiy as a result of which four soldiers were wounded and an automatic rifle was stolen.

Two Said Killed in Araratskiy, Idzhevan

NC1901163690 Yerevan ARMENPRES International
Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Yerevan, 19 January, ARMENPRES—A bloody clash took place on the Armenian Republic's border on 18 January. Bandits attacked Yeraskh in Araratskiy Rayon from nearby Sadarak village in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Oblast. The invasion had been planned since morning. The first shots were fired at local industries, and having gained the higher positions, the bandits directed sustained automatic fire at the town. Two people were killed, and others were wounded.

The rayon prepared to defend itself, and now troops which have been brought in are monitoring the situation. However, on 19 January, reports from Araratskiy Rayon indicated that clashes have resumed in Yeraskh.

Also, brigands organized a new attack on Idzhevan. On the night of 18 January a group of provocateurs attacked

Kirants village, but the residents were well organized and resisted. The residents counter-attacked well, and the brigands fled.

Operational Committee's Work Discussed

NC1901180190 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Yerevan, 19 January, ARMENPRES—The Operational Committee of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the Presidium of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, and the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers met on January 18. An ARMENPRES correspondent reports the following: The situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, in Shaumyan-skiy Rayon, and in the Armenian-inhabited villages in Getashen Subrayon is being revived by the military subunits.

One of the issues before the committee is the acceptance and housing of refugees arriving from Baku and other rayons. By January 18, there were more than 4000 refugees in Yerevan, and 5000 people have gathered in Turkmen SSR's Krasnovodak.

A report was also submitted on the fact that the command of the Yerevan garrison has decided to offer the five 2-room houses in Razdanskiy which are under its jurisdiction to house the refugees.

As they have for the past few days, pilots have been working hard. Despite the unfavorable conditions, they flew 4 tonnes of foodstuff and medications to Shaumyan-skiy and Hadruyt and carried nearly 4.5 tonnes of flour, sugar, meat, and processed meat to the Armenian residents of Getashen Subrayon. Warm clothing and other essential goods were flown to (Berdadzor), and nearly 2 tonnes of foodstuffs was flown to Mardakert.

Yerevan Reports Rail Blockade Situation

NC1901211790 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1700 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Azerbaijan's blockade of Armenia continues. As has been reported by the press center of the Yerevan branch of the Transcaucasus Railway, none of the efforts made to lift the blockade and resume rail operations are proving effective.

Because of a shortage of electrical energy and of [words indistinct] and materials, almost all of Yerevan's production units have stopped operation, and work at the city's construction sites has stopped.

A grave situation has been created in the disaster area. The hundreds of workers, engineers, and technical workers who have come from Moscow, Leningrad, the Ukraine, and from other republics to Leninakan, Kirovakan, Spitak, and other quake-stricken areas condemn the blockade of Armenia and demand that the Soviet Government take immediate steps to revive the railway

link and to call to account those who are obstructing efforts to normalize the situation.

On January 18, 18 Transcaucasus Railway trains arrived from the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic with 238 freight cars more than had arrived the previous day. The republic has received 70 tanks of mazut and 67 of diesel fuel, 18 freight cars of construction material, 24 containers and 35 freight cars of wheat, (?4 freight cars) of meat, 1 freight car of sugar, and other products. In one day 810 freight cars of cargo were unloaded.

NKAO Military Commandant's Decree Noted

NC1901205390 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1700 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] In addition to the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], a state of emergency (?will be established) in Agdam-skiy, (Dzhebrayil), Fizulinskiy, Kubatli-skiy, Lachinskiy, [name indistinct] and (Mir-bashli) Rayons. Major General Kosolapov spoke on oblast television the night of (?18) January. He informed the residents of the contents of his decree (?concerning) the decree issued by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on 15 January on establishing a state of emergency in the NKAO and in various other rayons.

According to the decree, in the areas where a state of emergency has been declared, strikes, meetings, street processions, demonstrations, and theatrical, entertainment, sporting and other mass functions are banned; information media will be controlled. The Armenian National Unification Movement, the NKAO National Council, the Artsakh Armenian Students Alliance, and branches of informal organizations are dissolved and their publishing houses closed down. The formation of new popular and informal organizations is banned and the activities of self-defense (?posts) and the popular irregular brigades are ended. Curfew hours in the areas where a state of emergency has been declared are to be from 0000 to 0500 the next day. All citizens who are not local residents are to leave the areas where an emergency has been declared until 1800 on 21 January. The permanent residents of the (?said areas) or people who have come to the areas because of (?extraordinary circumstances) should be housed in army houses. The decree became effective at 1800 on 18 January.

The military commandant also (?rationally) clarified that the citizens coming to the areas where a state of emergency has been declared should be considered as refugees and housed in army quarters.

Because of the dissolution of the NKAO National Council, KHORHRDAYIN KARABAKH newspaper was published on 18 January as the organ of the NKAO's oblast party organization and of the people's deputies.

The operative situation in the region continues to be tense. According to a report by the NKAO's internal affairs department, on 18 January three Azerbaijanis in Agdam-skiy smashed the door of the house of Sirun

Guseynova nee Oganisyan, born in 1912, and robbed her of R65 and (?household goods). Following this, the criminals took the old woman by car up to the borders of Martakertskiy where they left her. The wounded old woman was taken to the Martakertskiy hospital. On the same day, bullets and (?a gun) were found on Eyvak Abdullayev of Shushi. Also, at midnight on January 18, the residents of Martakertskiy's Azerbaijan village (Serkhavent) opened automatic fire at the military command building in the neighboring Armenian village (Ichen) in the same rayon. The army brigade had to open fire in order to end the self-defense action and the assault. There were no victims.

On 19 January at about 0500, hunting rifle and automatic guns were fired from the Azerbaijan village (Malibeyli), which is not very far from Shushinskiy. There were no victims there either.

As before, freight cars carrying cargo are not arriving in the NKAO. As we can see, the acts against Artsakh [NKAO] are continuing. The Artsakh people have not been understood. Will they be understood?

Commandant Berates Armenians

NC2001215790 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian
1700 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Vrej Sarukhanyan report]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Intending to conduct an interview, I visited Major General Kosolapov, commandant during the state of emergency in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and some other regions. Right away, he declared in quite an angry tone: Because of you Armenians, we are falling out with the Azeris. When I insisted on certain explanations, he ordered the soldiers and guards carrying automatic weapons: Do not let this journalist in here any more. It is not necessary for me to say anything more. [passage omitted]

Armenian Council for 'Special Situation' Set Up

NC2001221990 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian
1700 GMT 20 Jan 90

[ARMENPRES report]

[Text] The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Council of Ministers have set up a republican council for the special situation under the chairmanship of Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, in order to check the spread of the tension in connection with the prevailing situation in the region, to stabilize the situation, to ensure that the national economy and vital enterprises function normally, and to coordinate efforts to maintain law and order in the republic.

An affiliated operational committee is also functioning and solving the operational problems that arise.

A group for evaluating and anticipating social and political situations has also been set up. Scientific and creative intellectuals and public representatives are included in it.

The republican council for the special situation met on 19 January under Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee. The meeting heard reports from Movsisyan, chairman of the operational committee and first deputy chairman of the Armenian Council of Ministers; Badamyants, chairman of the Committee for State Security; Arutyunyan, internal affairs minister, and Major General Bishchev, commandant of the Yerevan garrison.

The situation in the republic was comprehensively evaluated during the council meeting, and additional measures were formulated which were intended to mobilize the forces of the republic and activate the work of the party and soviet bodies, public organizations, and informal associations.

Special attention was devoted to not allowing regional tension to spread and to ensuring public law and order and to reinforcing public order in the republic.

Matters pertaining to the resolution of the situation along the Azerbaijani borders were discussed. The pertinent bodies were instructed to adopt all necessary measures to ensure the population's security. The need to give proper assistance to the internal affairs and Soviet Army units was underlined.

The party and soviet bodies are instructed to ensure, with the assistance of the public organizations and informal associations, the coordination of the work of the diverse patriotic forces formed in Armenia, and to prevent them from taking unconsidered steps which might lead to undesirable consequences and to the further exacerbation of the situation.

The council also discussed urgent measures concerning the reception and settlement of refugees. It was underlined that it is the political duty of each citizen of the republic to show care and concern for the refugees and to provide assistance according to their means.

The council heard a report by Vladimir Markaryants, chairman of the Armenian Council of Ministers, on measures being taken by the government for the normal functioning of the life support system and of the national economy.

The council confirmed those priority measures which are intended to stabilize the situation, reduce tension, and normalize the situation in the republic.

Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Ultimatum to Moscow

AU2201085090 Paris AFP in English 0848 GMT
22 Jan 90

[Text] MOSCOW, Jan 22 (AFP)—The Azerbaijan parliament has given Moscow two days to lift the state of

emergency, failing which it will "reconsider" its union with the Soviet Union, nationalist sources said Monday.

The resolution was adopted by the Supreme Soviet during an emergency meeting which began early Monday, sources reached by telephone in Baku said.

Saturday's Soviet army intervention in Baku to restore order, in which "hundreds of people were killed", was a "violation of Azerbaijan's sovereignty", the declaration also said.

The state of emergency was decided by Moscow after local authorities failed to heed the Kremlin's demands for the imposition of a state of emergency in the wake of a massacre of Armenians and mass demonstrations against Soviet power in the city.

More on Ultimatum

*AU1901151890 Paris AFP in English 1443 GMT
19 Jan 90*

[Text] Moscow, Jan 19 (AFP)—Soviet authorities on Friday issued an ultimatum to Azeri nationalists in Baku, giving them two hours to lift their blockade which is preventing the entry of Soviet troops into the Azerbaijan capital, nationalist sources said.

The second secretary of the Communist Party, Viktor Polanichko, had told Elgibar Mamedov, a member of the National Council for Defence that force would be used if the blockade were not lifted, sources close to the National Council said by telephone.

The National Council for Defence was set up recently by the nationalist popular front.

There was no immediate indication of when the ultimatum would expire.

The army and special Interior Ministry troops Friday had still not managed to take control of Baku, where local inhabitants blockaded streets on the outskirts of the city, nationalist sources in the town said.

An army detachment Friday fired warning shots to extricate itself from a crowd in Baku which had sought to blockade barracks in the town, according to the government newspaper Izvestia. There were no reports of any casualties.

Troops Fight To Enter Baku 19 Jan

*AU1901212990 Paris AFP in English 2115 GMT
19 Jan 90*

[Text] Moscow, Jan 19 (AFP)—Soviet troops fought with Azeri nationalists late Friday as the soldiers tried to force their way into the Azerbaijani capital of Baku, nationalist sources in Baku said contacted by telephone. The fighting had been in progress since 1830 GMT, the sources said.

Authorities had earlier issued an ultimatum to the nationalists calling on them to dismantle blockades which were preventing the troops from entering the city to restore order.

AFP Reports 500 Dead in Baku Battle 20 Jan

*AU2001075990 Paris AFP in English 0742 GMT
20 Jan 90*

[Text] Moscow, Jan 20 (AFP)—Soviet troops took control of the Azerbaijani capital Baku on Saturday after more than five hours of heavy fighting, which has left up to 500 people dead, according to Azeri nationalists. "The bodies are still lying on the streets, the soldiers are stopping us from picking them up," a militant Azeri said at the Azerbaijani Popular Front's headquarters, reached by telephone from Moscow.

The militant did not know whether any of the Front's leaders had been arrested but was unable to say where many of them were now.

Popular Front officials said between 400 and 500 civilians had been killed in the fighting, but it was too early to give a more precise figure.

There were at least 100 dead at the Siemachko hospital in central Baku, a woman working in the casualty ward said. "There are a great many wounded still arriving," she said, sobbing on the telephone. "It's horrible what is going on here."

The Popular Front declared a day of national mourning in Azerbaijan and issued a call for civil disobedience, including a general strike. It demanded a lifting of the state of emergency decreed by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev a few hours earlier and an immediate withdrawal of troops.

Local radio had resumed broadcasts on Saturday morning. Both radio and television broadcasts were broken off on Friday night, a few hours before the troops moved in, after the plant supplying their power was sabotaged.

According to the Popular Front, Defence Minister Dmitri Yazov was personally directing operations in Baku.

The army began to enter the city at half past midnight (2030 GMT Friday). Azeri nationalists had tried to block access to the incoming troops.

Tass news agency reported that troops had faced "all sorts of provocations and obstacles". It said Azeri nationalists had opened fire and troops had been forced to respond. The agency spoke of "casualties" without giving any figures.

Tass said the decision to declare a state of emergency and send in troops had been taken because of "criminal actions by extremists forces of the Popular Front and

anti-Soviet groupings, who were trying to overpower the constitutional organs of the republic by force."

The move was also intended to ensure the defence and security of Baku's population, Tass said, adding that the military command was taking measures to "stabilise the situation".

On Friday afternoon, authorities had given the nationalists an ultimatum to remove road blocks they had erected on the outskirts of the city within two hours.

The population in this city of 1.7 million had been on general strike since Thursday. Thousands of demonstrators had besieged the headquarters of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, demanding the resignation of First Secretary Abdul Rahman Vezirov.

Negotiations were held on several occasions between the authorities and nationalist leaders in an attempt to stop the virtual civil war between Armenians and Azeris, with no results.

Soldiers opened fire to disperse a crowd of 30,000 besieging the Communist Party Central Committee headquarters in Baku, a nationalist source reached by telephone said here.

Two armoured columns, including at least 41 trucks loaded with soldiers, reportedly arrived at 0345 local time in the square where officers called on the crowd to disperse. The crowd responded with cries of "freedom, freedom".

Thirty minutes later, the soldiers are understood to have opened fire, the source said. The source also said he saw one ambulance with three bloodied Soviet soldiers, one a colonel.

Crowd Calls for Vezirov's Arrest, Rings Hqs

AU2001103090 Paris AFP in English 1018 GMT
20 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, Jan 20 (AFP)—Red Army units which fought their way overnight into Baku, capital of Azerbaijan, ringed the headquarters of the local communist party Saturday to protect it from a large angry crowd, Azeri sources said.

Aaref Yonoussov, a spokesman for the social democrat movement in Baku, said that tens of thousands of demonstrators were surrounding the central committee building and calling for the arrest of party leader Abdul Rahman Vezirov.

He said that factory hooters and ship's sirens were constantly wailing as the crowd swelled in defiance of a state of emergency proclaimed late Friday.

The Red Army, which forced its way into the city late Friday, had ringed the party offices with a dozen tanks and about 100 soldiers, he said.

"All the Soviet flags have been removed and replaced with Azerbaijani flags flying at half mast," Mr. Yonoussov said.

Azeri nationalists earlier claimed that up to 500 people died as the army entered the city.

French Armenians Ready To Respond to Call

AU2001114190 Paris AFP in English 1114 GMT
20 Jan 90

[Text] Paris, Jan 20 (AFP)—Four hundred Armenians living in France have answered a call to go to the aid of their people in the Soviet Union, where civil war has broken out between Armenians and Azeris, seven of them said on Saturday.

The appeal for volunteers was issued by the Armenian Revolutionary Federation Dachnag (the Armenian Socialist Party).

The Armenian community in France, at around 350,000, is the second biggest in the world.

The seven, all aged 20 to 30, and who asked not to be named, said 50 Armenians had enrolled in Paris and the rest in Lyons and Marseilles, in the centre and south of France. "We are awaiting orders from Dachnag. We will go where they tell us, whether it is Nagorno-Karabakh (a disputed Armenian-majority enclave in Azerbaijan), Baku (the Azerbaijan capital), where there have been pogroms or even Armenia itself.

"We are ready for any action, from humanitarian aid to the most extreme." They told Agence France-Presse they were ready to die if need be, but they were prepared simply to distribute blankets among refugees, if asked.

"We want history to stop repeating itself, we don't want people to always weep for the Armenians: genocide, earthquakes, pogroms. We want an end to the Armenians being a martyred people".

Armenian Secret Army Criticizes Gorbachev Policy

NC2001173890 Paris AFP in English 1720 GMT
20 Jan 90

[Text] Beirut, Jan 20 (AFP) - The extremist Armenian Secret Army the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA) Saturday blasted Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev for purportedly supporting an "international Zionist conspiracy" to dismember the Soviet Union.

In an English-language typewritten statement, ASALA said the Kremlin was "knowingly lending its support to the international Zionist conspiracy that seeks to bring about the disintegration and collapse of the very same Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

ASALA also charged that the major powers "continue to support and condone the genocidal and expansionist schemes of the fascist Turkish state."

Another ASALA statement to the Agence France-Presse bureau in Athens condemned Moscow's "irresponsible attitude" regarding the war declared by Azerbaijan on Soviet Armenia.

A woman identifying herself as ASALA spokesman Anahyd Anahibyan said Soviet Armenia had become a base of revolution for the Armenian diaspora's national liberation.

She accused the "Ankara-Baku-Tehran axis" of contemplating an even larger genocide of the Armenian people.

ASALA, which this year celebrates the 15th anniversary of its founding, said it knew when, how and where to act to satisfy the requirements of the Armenian people but did not elaborate.

Azerbaijani Nationalist Leader Interviewed

*PM1901155890 Paris LE FIGARO in French
18 Jan 90 p 3*

["P.B." interview with Nyazi Ibragimov, "secretary of the Azerbaijani National-Democratic party, [New Equality]"; date, place not given]

[Text] Moscow—LE FIGARO: How has the population responded to the Kremlin's imposition of a state of emergency? Do you consider this measure a good thing?

Nyazi Ibragimov: The response is extremely negative. The population believes that the Karabakh issue and the tensions that it has created concern only the two Transcaucasian republics—not Moscow.

LE FIGARO: What specifically has the state of emergency changed?

Nyazi Ibragimov: Nothing at all for the present. But to understand what has happened you have to go back to the origin of the latest outburst of violence. It was the Armenians in the Azerbaijani village of Chaykent that secretly manufactured firearms, and the roadblocks that we erected made it possible to intercept arms convoys. The people accompanying one of the convoys included leaders of Shaumyanovskiy rayon, directors of state farms and collective farms, and even a militia captain and the local prosecutor.

There is an almost constant stream of weapons between the various villages populated by Armenians, and in the district of Goris here is an outright military training base. An Azerbaijani People's Front counteroffensive was needed once the Armenians started firing on our villages from helicopters.

The situation has changed: A year ago nobody could hit or mistreat an Armenian without being thrown into prison. Now you can do it with impunity. The militia turns a blind eye. Why? Who is behind this laxness?

LE FIGARO: Are the clashes between extremists not a threat to perestroika?

Nyazi Ibragimov: There are more and more anti-Soviet calls, slogans in support of secession, acts of vandalism against official monuments. The aim of all this is to divert people's attention from the real problem: Who should hold power—Vezirov (first secretary of the Azerbaijani Communist Party) or other political forces?

As for perestroika, it is just another attempt to reorganize the surface, but the system remains the same. We are not the only ones to form this analysis: It is shared by large sectors of the population. In any case our party is struggling for an autonomous and sovereign Azerbaijan outside the Soviet federation.

LE FIGARO: Does Azerbaijan believe that it is an internal matter for the USSR or must there be an internationalization of the conflict with Armenia?

Nyazi Ibragimov: The Karabakh problem was created by Moscow. If the Armenians agreed, albeit provisionally, to withdraw their demands and to remove their armed militants from the region, we would be willing to engage in negotiations with them.

Armenian People's Front Representative Interviewed

*PM1901164490 Paris LE FIGARO
in French 18 Jan 90 p 3*

["P.B." Interview With Renal Mirzoyan, "Representative of the Armenian 'People's Front'"; date, place not given]

[Text] Moscow—LE FIGARO: How has the population responded to the Kremlin's imposition of a state of emergency? Do you consider this measure a good thing?

Renal Mirzoyan: The decree is another anti-Armenian document and has been received as such. Further massacres are taking place in Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan, and this should bring a state of emergency there. But this has not happened. It is Armenia that was hit. (Actually Nagorno Karabakh, but Armenian nationalists regard it as part of Armenia—LE FIGARO editor's note)

Some points in the decree conflict with the sovereignty of the peoples of Armenia and Karabakh: I have in mind in particular the possibility for the authorities and the Army to remove whoever does not have the status of permanent resident, or anyone else on the pretext of ensuring their safety. In other words, the government is now legally entitled to remove Armenians from Karabakh and the Azerbaijani areas where they are settled, which is in fact Baku's most ardent wish.

The Armenian Supreme Soviet was not even consulted before the state of emergency was imposed, and now Moscow is asking it to help restore order. How contradictory!

LE FIGARO: What specifically has the state of emergency changed?

Renal Mirzoyan: It is too early to say. But the decree has been very badly received by the Armenian people and a new outburst of anger is likely in Armenia. Nothing and no one will deter the Armenian people and those of Karabakh from their struggle for reunification, which will continue until their demands have been met.

The Armenian Supreme Soviet itself made an announcement to this effect last July, and its decision must be implemented. Whatever ukazes and machinations may occur, nothing can divert the Armenian people from their path.

LE FIGARO: Do the clashes between extremists not constitute a threat to perestroika?

Renal Mirzoyan: There are no extremists either in Armenia or in Nagorno Karabakh. That is, unless you want to call the entire Armenian people extremists. Our movement, the People's Front—which was formed in February 1988, following the massacre of our fellow countrymen by Azeris in Sumgait—is democratic and constitutional. It in no way jeopardizes the interests of perestroika. On the contrary, it helps it.

LE FIGARO: Does Armenia believe that this is an internal matter for the USSR or must there be an internationalization of the conflict in Azerbaijan?

Renal Mirzoyan: At present the situation is so tense that many people believe that unless the center defends the Armenian people's interests, the latter will be forced to take a further step and appeal to international organizations such as the United Nations. Such an appeal will certainly be issued—if not today, then tomorrow.

Iranian Press Reports Lenkoran Under Attack

NC2101080390 Paris AFP in English 0733 GMT
21 Jan 90

[Text] Tehran, Jan 21 (AFP)—Lenkoran in Soviet Azerbaijan has come under attack from Soviet helicopters after local people took control of the city, which borders Iran, the Iranian press reported Sunday.

The reports, citing Soviet Azeris who arrived in Iran from the region on the Caspian Sea, said Lenkoran residents had taken "total" control of the city, ensuring security and setting up roadblocks to "prevent the entry of armed forces." "Two Soviet air force helicopters had overflowed the city after the people had taken over and opened fire on the demonstrators, who had gathered at the city gates," the press quoted the Azeri witnesses as saying.

The Soviet news agency TASS reported Saturday that about 100 Iranian security men had crossed into the Lenkoran region and one had spoken on Lenkoran radio to express "his admiration at the events in Azerbaijan," most of whose population is Moslem.

Soviet troops have intervened to quell a nationalist rebellion in Azerbaijan after fierce clashes between

Azeris and Armenians there. At least 57 people and 323 injured [as received] when troops moved in overnight Friday-Saturday against Azeri nationalists in Baku, the Azerbaijani capital, according to an official Soviet toll. And nationalist sources in Baku said that more than 100 people had died in a gun battle between troops and insurgents there Saturday night.

The autonomous republic of Nakhichevan, an Azeri enclave on the border with Iran, declared itself independent on Saturday.

Nakhichevan Television Appeals for Help

NC2101162990 Paris AFP in English 1546 GMT
21 Jan 90

[Text] Tehran, Jan 21 (AFP)—Television in Azeri-controlled Nakhichevan appealed for help Sunday, saying inhabitants were under attack from Armenians and were being "crushed by Soviet tanks and guns," sources in northern Iran reported.

Residents of the Iranian town of Poldasht, contacted by telephone, said televised reports monitored there described the situation in the Soviet autonomous republic, which has proclaimed its independence from Moscow, as "dramatic." "We are under pressure from tanks and guns, as the Russians want to crush us, with help from the Armenians," the television said according to one Poldasht resident. The resident said appeals had been issued in English, French, Farsi and Turkish.

Nakhichevan, despite its Moslem Azeri majority, is bordered by mainly Christian Soviet Armenia but is administered by the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan.

Soviet Azeris in the enclave for the past month have staged demonstrations along the northern bank of the Aras River, separating Nakhichevan from Iranian Azerbaijan, and have demanded access to their Shiite co-religionists across the river. Some have swum across.

Soviet Azeris gathered again Sunday on the northern bank of the Aras and shouted for help to fellow Azeris from Iran on the southern bank, residents of Poldasht reported. "They're crying and yelling," said one inhabitant, who quoted Soviet Azeris as saying "The Armenians want to kill us with Stinger (missiles)."

The Iranian news agency IRNA, also citing reports from Poldasht, reported earlier that Soviet troops clashed with Azeris in Nakhichevan after the region declared itself independent on Saturday.

IRNA Says Nakhichevan Declares Autonomy

LD2101182890 Tehran IRNA in English 1724 GMT
21 Jan 90

[Text] Orumiye (E. Azerbaijan), Jan. 21, IRNA—The people of Nakhichevan, which yesterday declared autonomy from the Soviet Union, took control of the city's television station for an hour Sunday [21 January].

broadcasting a statement and calling on world people to stop the massacre of Muslims in the region.

The statement broadcast in seven languages appealed to all world governments to take immediate measures to prevent the genocide of Muslims in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Region which officially is a part of Azerbaijan.

It said the city's hospitals were crowded with civilians injured by Russian soldiers.

In the early hours Saturday, [20 January] Nakhichevan television had announced full independence from the Soviet Union, and had asked all Russian troops to leave the region.

Resolution Broadcast

*LD2001101790 Tehran IRNA in English 0923 GMT
20 Jan 90*

[Text] Tabriz, E. Azarbaijan, Jan. 20 IRNA—The Muslim-populated city of Nakhichevan, in the Soviet Azerbaijan Republic, declared separation from the central government and full independence at early hours Saturday.

In an announcement broadcast three times on Nakhichevan television at 01:00 hours Saturday following a martial music, it was said that Soviet troops should leave the city.

The announcement, described as "the four-point resolution of the Nakhichevan presidium," was read by the head of the Presidium Mrs. Sakina Ali-Ava.

It called on Turkey for help in order to safeguard Nakhichevan's territorial integrity and prevent massacre of the people.

It also called on the U.N., the Islamic Republic of Iran and all world governments for help.

It stressed that the decision was taken according to Article 81 of the Soviet Constitution and due to the lack of defence for territorial integrity of Azerbaijan and Nakhichevan and creation of a state of terror following the aggressions of Armenians.

The announcement also urged the Soviet Union to put an end to its aggressions in Nakhichevan.

Clashes Continue

*NC2101063790 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian
0430 GMT 21 Jan 90*

[Text] IRNA reports from Pol Dasht that Nakhichevan television was cut off at 1900 yesterday when, according to unconfirmed reports, strong explosions were heard at the Nakhichevan radio and television installations.

Nakhichevan television was cut off as an announcer was interviewing residents of a village in Soviet Azerbaijan.

The sound of heavy and light weapons fire could be heard in the background throughout the interview.

The report states that the clashes between troops and the Muslim inhabitants of Nakhichevan continue and the city is plunged into complete darkness.

The IRNA report, citing passengers arriving in Astara from Lenkoran in the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic, states that the clashes between the Muslim people of Lenkoran and the Soviet troops are continuing in this area as well.

Baku TV To Resume Broadcasting 21 Jan

*LD2101192190 Tehran IRNA in English 1830 GMT
21 Jan 90*

[Text] Ardebil (East Azarbaijan), Jan 21, IRNA—Baku's television was to resume broadcasting as of 1700 hrs local time Sunday [21 January], said Radio Baku, lashing out those responsible for military operation in the Azerbaijan Republic.

The television stopped broadcasting late Friday [19 January] because of an explosion following the entry of Russian troops in city against popular resistance.

Baku Radio in its Azeri language broadcast was bitterly resentful of the Russian troops sent from Moscow, and said the military brutally killed and wounded hundreds of children, women, students and workers.

A 3-day public mourning was declared in the Azerbaijan republic, and the radio playing a mourning tune since Saturday [20 January] night, has been airing joint communiques released by the Azerbaijan Popular Front and the secretariat of Muslim ulema, demanding withdrawal of Russian soldiers.

Funeral procession for the martyrs of the Soviet military action will be held in 'Bash Meidan', Baku, at noon Monday [22 January], said the radio.

Meanwhile, report from Tabriz, West Azarbaijan, said residents of Jalilabad across the Cranian border, blocked all entrances to the city using trucks and heavy machinery in order to prevent Soviet military forces from invading their city.

Informed Muslim Azeris who crossed the border into the Islamic Republic on Sunday said Jalilabad is being prepared against possible intervention of Russian military forces.

In related reports from Bileh Savar, the Supreme Council of the Republic of Azerbaijan released a communique in Persian today, condoning the massacre of Muslims by the Soviet forces.

The communique was broadcast by Baku Radio at 1500 hours local time today.

Military 'Severely' Restricts Border Crossings

LD2201105690 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian
1030 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] The central news unit reports that after 4 days of border crossings by Muslim Soviet Azarbaijanis, since this morning, military forces are severely restricting their entry into Iran by stationing themselves on the border. On the basis of the report, in the towns of Astara and Bileh Savar, only those Soviet Azarbaijanis who are in Iran are allowed to return to the Soviet Union, after passing through strict controls. Mechanized forces are also stationed on the border.

Over 20,000 Cross

LD2001181890 Tehran IRNA in English 1643 GMT
20 Jan 90

[Text] Ardebil (E. Azarbaijan), Jan. 20, IRNA—Measures have been taken to accommodate the thousands of Muslims who have crossed into the Islamic Republic from Soviet Azerbaijan. An official at the provincial governor-general's office said Saturday [20 January] that a 'special headquarters' has been set up for making housing arrangements for the over ten thousand Soviet Muslims.

He said over 20,000 Soviet Azerbaijanis have crossed Astara, Garmi and Bileh Savar borders over the past two days to visit relatives in Iran. Most of the Soviet visitors then returned home, he added. At present, there are more than 100 Soviet Azerbaijanis in Ardebil, he noted.

Meanwhile, reports from Tabriz say groups of Soviet Muslims are streaming into the Islamic Republic since early Saturday.

For the past several days, it has become a routine for the Soviet to cross into the Islamic Republic in the early hours of the morning to visit their kin or exchange goods with border inhabitants and return home at dusk.

Borders 'Closed' 20 Jan

LD2001181290 Tehran IRNA in English 1646 GMT
20 Jan 90

[Text] Bilehsavar (E. Azarbayjan), Jan. 20, IRNA—Following the declaration of martial law in Baku, capital of Soviet Azerbaijan, the military governor has announced that border areas of Bileh Savar and Astara are closed for crossing into Iran as of 1800 hours (1430 GMT) local time today.

The region is in the grip of unrest, and the military governor also added that Soviet forces will ban people from going towards Iran as of the declared hour.

Informed sources in the meantime said that the Bileh Savar border region was completely closed to the people by the Soviet order officers at 1550 hours (1220 GMT) today.

Iran National Security Council Views Events

LD2001183690 Tehran IRNA in English 1732 GMT
20 Jan 90

[Text] Tehran, Jan. 20. IRNA—The National Security Council convened here Saturday [20 January] to review the incidents in Soviet Azerbaijan and issues relevant to Iran-Soviet border strip.

During the session, presided over by President Hojjat ol-Eslam Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the council made some decisions in this regard.

Iranian Foreign Ministry on Transcaucus Events

LD2001211690 Tehran IRNA in English 2013 GMT
20 Jan 90

[Text] Tehran, Jan. 20, IRNA—Iran's Foreign Ministry today urged the Soviet Government to stop its violence against the people of Azerbaijan and settle the issue through peaceful means.

"The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Islamic Republic of Iran expresses deep regret over such improper measures and seriously wants the Soviet Government to halt violent encounter with the people of Azerbaijan and resolve the issue by employing peaceful means, because the continuation of violence not only would not help solve the issue but would rather make the current obscure situation more complicated," said a statement issued by the ministry this evening.

It said that Soviet Muslims' deep-rooted link with Islam has caused Muslim Azeris to hold gatherings across Iranian border strip, demanding permission to get acquainted with their suppressed religious culture, meet their relatives and visit holy sanctuaries in Iran.

"But regrettably suspicious currents based on hostility towards Islam, launched an organised effort to turn this genuine and peaceful trend into ethnic clashes and by fuelling the ethnic violences not typical of the present situation and rooted in the past Stalinist policies, created tragic scenes of the massacre and homelessness of the innocent people," the statement added.

The statement said the plots of imperialist governments in encouraging Moscow to take biased attitudes towards various republics should not be ignored. It described this move "as a trap set in the way of the Soviet Union's new policies which not only encourages this government towards further confrontation with Muslims of this country but also makes the people and Muslims of the world disappointed at the seriousness of these policies."

Recalling the leader of the Islamic revolution's remarks earlier this week urging the Soviet leadership to avoid taking an improper position vis-a-vis the Islamic sentiments of the Soviet Muslims, the statement expressed pity that the despatch of Soviet forces to the Republic of Azerbaijan had led to the killing and wounding of many people.

3,500 Reported Killed in Baku Since 19 Jan*LD2001111590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1053 GMT 20 Jan 90*

[Text] Moscow, 20 Jan (TANJUG)—In the Azerbaijan office in the Soviet Government in Moscow, it was announced this morning to a TANJUG correspondent that some 3,500 people have died in Baku since last night when army units entered the town after the introduction of the state of emergency.

The Azerbaijani representatives state that this information was announced by the commander of the state of emergency in Baku.

Gorbachev Blamed For 'Barbarian' Acts*LD2001152390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1349 GMT 20 Jan 90*

[Text] Moscow, Jan 20 (TANJUG)—Representatives of the Azerbaijani people in Moscow today strongly criticized the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party (CPSU) and Mikhail Gorbachev in person for last night's bloodshed in Baku.

A press release for foreign newsmen distributed at the Azerbaijani mission to the Soviet Government says that last night the Azerbaijani people "felt on themselves all the greatness of democracy given them by the Central Committee of the CPSU, the USSR Supreme Soviet and Gorbachev in person."

It added that Gorbachev's latest speech, in which he spoke about the desire for the creation of Islamic Azerbaijan, was the "signal for barbarian actions of the Soviet Army against the Azerbaijani people."

Armenian Volunteers Being Recruited in France*LD2001111190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1048 GMT 20 Jan 90*

[Text] Paris, Jan 20 (TANJUG)—The Armenian community in France, which totals around 400,000 people, has started recruiting volunteers "to take up arms to help brothers in the Soviet Union."

Conscription posts have been opened in Paris, Lyon, Marseilles and other French cities.

This influential community also asked French-President Francois Mitterand to intervene with the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to "stop the pogrom" of Armenians.

"A new genocide is being prepared, and Armenians are in the state of self-defence," French Armenians say, explaining their mobilization. The action is led by the Socialist Party of Armenia in France, which says it receives over one hundred applications daily.

A committee to direct the protests in front of the Soviet Embassy and the Foreign Ministry has also been set up

in Paris. The collecting of financial and other forms of aid to Armenia was also initiated.

Aliyev Condemns Intervention in Azerbaijan*LD2101173590 Kuwait KUNA in English 1528 GMT 21 Jan 90*

[Text] Moscow, Jan 21 (KUNA)—Former Soviet first deputy prime minister and Politburo member Geydar Aliyev Sunday [21 January] condemned Soviet military intervention in the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan saying it was "inhuman, undemocratic and unlawful".

Aliyev, in a statement to KUNA, added that the Soviet leadership "should not have taken this step as it had led to serious results, many killings and contributed to complicating the situation".

He declined to be drawn on the international repercussions of the Soviet intervention in Azerbaijan stressing that the Soviet leadership "should have thought twice before doing it".

He added that "the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan should have been settled two years ago," Armenia and Azerbaijan should have been settled two years ago," Aliyev said adding that "accumulated problems had now surfaced". He called on Moscow to take a definite stance regarding the conflict between and emanating from the fact that Nagorno-Karabakh was a part of Azerbaijan".

Aliyev, however, refused to speculate on any reaction from Islamic countries or other Islamic Soviet republics on developments in Azerbaijan.

Azerbaijan Popular Front Spokesman Says 2,000 Dead*OW2001123190 Tokyo NHK General Television Network in Japanese 1000 GMT 20 Jan 90*

[Telephone conversation between a "spokesman of the Azerbaijan popular front" and NHK Moscow correspondent Kazuo Takana; video shows Takana taking notes as the Azerbaijan spokesman speaks; following is translated from Japanese subtitles—from evening news program]

[Text] Several thousand people gathered in front of the science academy. Then, 200 tanks came. People brought by helicopters seemed to be from the KGB. There was violence near Baku, and more than 2,000 people are said to have been killed. The Soviet Army fired on a television station last night and occupied a radio station.

Economic**Leasing Blocked by Errors, Bureaucracy***PM1901111790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 2*

[V. Romanyuk account of interview with P. Bunich, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee For Economic Reform Questions, and V.

Rayevskiy, USSR deputy minister of finance: "Who Is Applying the Brakes on Leasing?"; date and place of interview not given; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] The Fundamentals of USSR and Union Republic Legislation on Leasing, adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet, came into force in January 1990. The press frequently carries reports on the incipient process of enterprises' transition to leasing. But what is actually happening? So far there has been no transition at all to leasing, according to a statement by P. Bunich, one of the active participants in the draft law's elaboration and deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee For Economic Reform Questions. Many IZVESTIYA readers have either watched or listened to his alarming statements on television and radio. V. Rayevskiy, USSR deputy minister of finance, agreed to discuss the prevailing situation with him.

Question: Pavel Grigoryevich, you headed the Subcommittee on Leasing. It has now been renamed the Subcommittee on Monitoring the Implementation of Leasing. So, what do you monitor?

P. Bunich: So far, there has been nothing special to monitor. When the draft law was being discussed in the Supreme Soviet, nine-tenths of the deputies voted for its adoption. This generated a euphoria which is now vanishing. The new year is upon us, but the government has still not determined which sectors can switch to leasing and which will remain under the budget. Furthermore, this law has no direct effect and must be backed by republican legislation. Hardly anything is known in Moscow about the republics' efforts in this work; representatives of only two republics have approached the Economic Reform Committee.

Some people generally believe that leasing cannot be introduced under the current mutual relations between enterprises and the budget, when good workers feed bad workers. I believe that a new procedure for making payments into the budget—through taxation—should be introduced under leasing. I had a conversation with N.I. Ryzhkov on this question, and I must say that the government supports us. But the USSR Ministry of Finance elaborated a procedure for payments into the budget whereby lessees must continue meeting their former payment commitments. Who will embark on leasing on such crushing terms? I learned a few days ago that the draft being worked on by the government is virtually the same as that conceived by the Ministry of Finance. Right away I suggested a joint consideration of the draft prior to its adoption. No way, a brick wall! And yet we keep on saying that parliament and the government ought to work together.

V. Rayevskiy: But the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution on the procedure for bringing into force the fundamentals of legislation on leasing, dated 23 November 1989, provides for the stage-by-stage transition to taxation of leased enterprises. Interim regulations on budget payments by leased enterprises will operate at the initial

stage, and it is intended to replace them next year by a legislative act on the taxation of leased enterprises' profits. Standard-rate tax payments could become the stumbling block which might complicate the transition to leasing this year. Those who have already switched to these conditions could simply find themselves on the brink of ruin. Enterprises which switched to leasing in the last 2 years will pay into the budget 20% to 40% of their profits, which is less than envisaged by the draft USSR Law on Single Taxation System now being examined in the USSR Supreme Soviet.

P. Bunich: Incidentally, the interim regulations on payments should have been introduced from the start of the new year. Once again the government failed to meet the deadline. According to the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution, the government should submit draft regulations on lessees' taxation by 1 February 1990. Nowhere does it say that this draft should spend a whole year in the Supreme Soviet and that profits will be taxed. It would be more sensible to tax revenues, as is done in cooperatives, to ensure that lessees do not boost wage funds excessively. Generally speaking, I would consider it expedient not to adopt the interim regulations since we are already running out of time, but to immediately introduce taxation.

Question: Why is there such a lack of coordination? After all, this is not the first year that leasing is being introduced. One of the machine building industry's giants—Sumy's Frunze Association—was transferred to lease relations last year.

P. Bunich: That was not leasing in the real sense of the word. It was a question of using it as a way to expand the rights of enterprises. As far as lease payments are concerned, that was just a new name given to all the former payments into the budget and the higher-ranking organizations. The leasing system we wish to introduce is totally different from what is known as leasing in the West. In our country, it alters the form of ownership, and hence the confrontation between enterprises and ministries.

V. Rayevskiy: For all intents and purposes, the interim regulations retain this year's payments into the budget in the forms and amounts which applied to enterprises prior to their transition to leasing. As far as lease payments are concerned, it must be borne in mind that they are not appropriated by the budget since they are a contractual form of financial relations between lessees and lessors.

Question: In these circumstances, who should act as lessors?

V. Rayevskiy: Under the fundamentals of legislation on leasing, the part of lessor can be played by organs authorized by the owner to transfer property on lease. These would usually be the higher-ranking organs of management, and now it is difficult to suggest anyone else. In the future, however, as the functions of sector

ministries are altered and new collective forms of enterprise association are created, it might become topical to consider the question of creating a special organ for the management of state property which would monitor the movement of property and would determine the expediency of leasing it or partly selling it to those same lease collectives.

P. Bunich: We enshrined this in the law: This right can be vested in any organization capable of performing these functions. I think that the USSR Ministry of Finance, which is the ultimate recipient of these payments, could become such an organ. It would be worse if this were assigned to the USSR State Bank. And it would be altogether bad to make ministries the lessors. They are the ones that are least interested in the development of leasing. After all, they realize that the last enterprise's transition to leasing would pull the last chair from underneath ministry functionaries. We have already heard of ministry leaders' asking the government to put their sectors on the list of those not transferable to leasing. I can understand it if it is a question of fundamental sciences which cannot be commercialized, of the banking system, the defense sectors, or medicine. But here we have machine builders wanting to be listed as an exception, even though this sector is ideal for the introduction of leasing. It is not hard to see the ministerial functionaries' point of view: By leasing out enterprises, they would be deprived of the functions of day-to-day management. They would be left with strategy alone, which would mean that the ministry as such would go out of existence, and all that would be left would be a committee with a smaller staff and different functions.

First Digression

Nowadays the USSR Supreme Soviet, the central economic departments, and the IZVESTIYA Editorial Office receive quite a few letters from enterprise leaders reporting instances of the brakes being applied by ministries. Here is an urgent telegram from Moscow's "Mashinostroitel" Experimental Plant under the Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building: "The labor collective's decision to switch to leasing as of January 1990 is under threat of being thwarted. Unwilling to let go the administrative levers of management, the Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building submitted to the USSR Council of Ministers a proposal that experimental plants be included in the group of enterprises whose leasing is not allowed. We ask that the Law on Leasing is not allowed to be sabotaged." It is reported from Stupinskoye Intersector Industrial Railroad Transport Enterprise that the USSR Ministry of Railways intends to exclude industrial railroad transport from the list of leasable sectors. Incidentally, the Stupinskoye Enterprise was recently transferred to the Ministry of Railways from under the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Ministry of Motor Transport; transition to leasing was allowed under the latter, but prohibited under the former. Or look at what G. Selin, chief of Volgogradgidrostroy's "Zhilstroy" No 10 Construction Administration, has to report. He was not prevented from switching to leasing, but on the condition that

all profits should be paid to the main administration. Another fact: The "Mosoblagropromavtomatika" Association is part of the Moscow Oblast Agro-Industrial Committee. No sooner had the collective announced its intention to switch to leasing than it was threatened: We will withdraw your right to exist as a production unit (a legal person), and the question of leasing will become irrelevant. This is exactly how the collective of Kiev's "Slavutich" Movie Theater was treated: It was the first among the collectives of the Kiev Production Association for Movie and Video Film Hire to express a desire to switch to leasing, and it was immediately amalgamated, along with the "Krakov" Movie Theater. That was the subject of a letter from O. Iosifov, chairman of the "Slavutich" Labor Collective Council, and M. Lozenko, chairman of the trade union committee. Another instance: The Baltic Shipping Company applied to the USSR Supreme Soviet, asking that its suggestion for transition to leasing be protected from departmental tyranny, basing its request on the fact that most shipping companies in the world operate as joint stock companies. What do all these facts indicate? It seems as if everyone is in favor of leasing, but every functionary is seeking certain exceptions (read: a quiet life) for himself. Let there be leasing wherever you like, they say, but not in our backyard: We are not quite ready for it, you know. And they issue orders changing things only in name while everything remains as it was. This is the essence of the apparatus game.

Question: Will the law be able to protect potential lessees from ministries' tyranny?

P. Bunich: It will. We have enshrined a provision that makes it incumbent on ministries to examine questions concerning transition to leasing within 30 days. If it comes up against red tape, an enterprise is entitled to appeal to the State Board of Arbitration (economic court). It is very important to ensure that this law—one of the first in the economic reform package—emerges victorious. The apparatus must not be given a chance to stifle the new elements of reform.

V. Rayevskiy: I think that laws ought to be formulated in a way that they preclude any loopholes for arbitrary rule or arbitrary interpretation. Unfortunately, laws often end up as excessively generalized formulations. Look at legislation abroad, for example. How voluminous and detailed it is. Ours is conditional on delegated legislation, and this provides grounds for disputed interpretations.

Question: Enterprise leaders obstruct the development of leasing in many cases. What is at issue here?

P. Bunich: The fact that leasing very often brings out people's business qualities, their ability to be enterprising and thrifty. A labor collective is unlikely to put up with a failure, a bureaucrat, or an insolent man in the director's seat. We have quite a few leaders who have adapted to life at the state's expense, to plundering the state. Even now they demand—as a condition for

switching to leasing—that capital investment in production development be increased without having the slightest intention of paying for it. As far as the workers are concerned, some of them fear that leasing might come under the shadow hanging over cooperatives, or rather that they might share the latter's tarnished reputation. Here we have a psychological effect: Never mind the quality of your work, it is your earnings that will be painstakingly monitored.

V. Rayevskiy: This is hardly the way to present the question. Transition to leasing is a strictly voluntary act by a collective. Unsystematic campaigns are unacceptable in this regard. Some people are cautious if there is no proper readiness for new-style economic management. This means a much higher degree of responsibility for work results. In practice we often encounter a desire by enterprises to return to the former detailed plan listings with guaranteed supply quotas, instead of putting together their own portfolio of orders and autonomously seeking opportunities to get them fulfilled.

The instability of economic management conditions is probably another obstacle. The same legislation which regulates lease relations has already been amplified three times in just over 2 years. We do not like this either, but the work involved is new and it is necessary to take into account all the circumstances in which enterprises actually work. The question of shaping objective conditions for lease relations can arise seriously only after the introduction of profits tax and of new prices and price lists. But this does not mean that the process of transition to leasing should be held back. Labor collectives must know precisely what the prospects are and must get ready to work in real-life conditions.

Second Digression

The government assigns a rather modest position to leasing: It is assumed that 20% of enterprises will switch to leasing in 6 years. In all probability, this ought not to be perceived as a magic figure, let alone as a target. Everything will be decided by life itself. The main point is to create objective conditions for the free development of different forms of economic management. Of course, leasing is one of the most promising. Let it prove itself in real life, with all its complexities and contradictions. The publication of the draft law on taxation is long overdue. Since there are no clear-cut guidelines, we experience either a toughening or an easing of conditions for transition to leasing. Here is just one example: The Cherkassy low-voltage equipment plant had to pay R5.4 million into the budget prior to its transition to leasing. It was in financial difficulties at the time of transition. The terms provided for a reduction of payments by R1.2 million. But this, of course, cannot be perceived as a system of easing (and toughening). Otherwise, as has already happened on numerous occasions, the justification for appraising the efficiency of new forms of economic management will be altogether lost. Or everything will be reduced to nothing but talk about leasing, to yet another campaign. Generally speaking, it ought to be emphasized that leasing is not at

all geared only to loss-making, to so-called "sick" enterprises. Yes, it does provide a cure, but it does no harm to strong enterprises which stand firmly on their feet. Quite the contrary!

Question: What are the prospects for the development of leasing: Will enterprises remain within the state sector, or will it all end up with their being completely bought out?

V. Rayevskiy: If there is an opportunity to improve work and mobilize reserves through leasing, this must be undertaken. Leasing will create economic conditions for the buy-out of property. After all, a collective can dispose of its earnings. Initially, this will probably apply to facilities where work cannot be properly organized without leasing. I think that consumer goods production is the most promising sector of the economy, where it would be possible for lease collectives to buy out property.

P. Bunich: This is no complex problem for smaller enterprises with fixed assets whose value is not great. For example, workers in the shoemaker's workshop on the block where I live could buy out their assets on the spot. This might take a few years in medium-size enterprises. It would be altogether unattainable in the giants. But this should be no obstacle to the labor collective's building up its own capital, separating it from state property, and dealing with it at its own discretion. You've built a new shop; it's yours. You are in a position to reconstruct an old shop; the state would agree to everything. In principle, it allows every state enterprise to effect a buy-out and join the ranks of collective enterprises, and later of joint stock or cooperative enterprises. After all, the state receives the full value of the assets, and all the rest is immaterial to it. It must be borne in mind that leasing is not a goal in itself but a way to create collective ownership, right up to the complete buy-out of assets.

Here is something to which I would like to draw attention. The most paradoxical ideas emerge and spread in society at moments of crisis. It is suggested, for example, that factories should be distributed among workers and land among peasants. But assets at different enterprises have different values, and thus any distribution would be unfair. Moreover, this option does not make it clear what will be distributed among the creative intelligentsia or, say, the pensioners. Another option suggests that property be divided among all members of society—in equal shares, with certificates being issued to people. But this will not be fair, either; loafers and good workers will get an equal share, let alone the gigantic inflation which will exacerbate the market situation further still. Everywhere in the world state property is being sold off (but in no way distributed freely) or leased, which is what we are about to do, but we seem to have gotten bogged down right at the very start.

Consumer Market, Money Program Examined

PM1901103190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
18 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Commentary by economic observer V. Romanyuk: "Three Days to Finish Work on Draft"]

[Text] The USSR Council of Ministers has again examined the question of urgent measures to normalize the consumer market and money circulation in the country.

We described the preliminary examination of the program of urgent measures in Issue No 9 for 1990. This time amendments have again been introduced to the draft. Let us touch primarily on those elements which perturb us all—the state of the store shelves. In particular it is proposed to establish more strenuous targets for ministries and departments for putting into circulation the above-norm material stocks at enterprises. They will be partly sent to the cooperatives and partly sold directly to the population. The Ministry of Automotive and Agricultural Machine Building alone should find articles worth R103 million; the Ministry of Heavy Machine Building should find articles worth R70 million; the Ministry of the Timber Industry articles worth R41 million; and the Ministry of the Electronics Industry articles worth R24 million. In all resources worth R1.5 billion in addition to the plan must be found, and that includes resources worth at least R1 billion to be sold additionally for the population's needs. That's some bonus!

This time the target has been set in proportion to existing supernormative stocks. The ministries and departments will have to ensure a real augmentation. The USSR State Committee for Statistics has been instructed to institute accountability on this score and to keep the implementation of the set target under constant control throughout this year.

Essentially it is a case of approaches toward the solution of the consumer goods production program; the increase must be R66 billion. To resolve this very important socioeconomic task a whole complex of measures is being carried out and there are very radical measures in the package. Well, for instance, the session protocol stresses the need to approach in a more balanced way the determination of the volume and structure of the state order to ensure the stability of the plan approved for 1990, without any stipulations or amendments. The official protocol encourages restrained formulas, especially as it is so far a case only of proposals. But it must be supposed that their content will force many people to tighten up discipline and rid themselves of relapses of "collective egotism."

The proposal comes down to the following: When a state enterprise declines to conclude contracts based on state orders—this is a case of food and nonfood goods and industrial engineering output—it is fined a sum which is 30% of the cost of the undelivered output (but not more than 20% of the profit obtained). Half this sum is

channeled into the budget. It is proposed to exact fines every quarter: As soon as contracts for delivery are concluded the payments envisaged by the fine sanctions cease.

Finally, a whole section of the program is devoted to bringing the growth of revenue into line with the final results of the labor collectives' activity. The 1989 results are deplorable: production growth of 1.7%, a wage increase of 12%. What is proposed? That this process be nipped in the bud! In other words, the wages fund should be formed in such a way that in terms of its growth rate it does not exceed the growth of the volume of output in comparable prices. This procedure rules out the possibility of "hiking" wages through prices.

The package includes a whole series of untraditional measures for using enterprises' revenue and forming a final market and measures curbing the growth of prices in the interests of the least affluent strata of the population.

A number of questions were highlighted as requiring deeper study. This applies to payment for housing and the leasing of land for dacha and garden plots. The size of payment for the use of loans issued for the construction of summer houses and the provision of amenities for garden plots will be specified. The question of the interest on the population's investments in the USSR Savings Bank institutions is being raised anew—it is a case of differentiating the size of the interest depending on the guaranteed period of investment.

During the repeat examination of the draft the proposal to increase the interest charged for credits supplied for individual housing construction was completely eliminated from it. However radical the program of measures to normalize the consumer market and money circulation in the country, approaches to its implementation should be supremely considered.

The draft has been sent to the union republic councils of ministers and to interested ministries and departments for additional study. After that the program of urgent measures will again be submitted to the government. In all just a few days have been allotted for completing work. We will tell readers what the final version turns out to be.

Miners' Organization Official Interviewed

904F0061 Moscow TRUD in Russian
29 Dec 89 p 3

[Report on interview with Alain Simon, general secretary of the International Organization of Miners, by R. Puchkov: "A. Simon: Everything Is Not That Simple"; place and date not given]

[Text] The general secretary of the International Organization of Miners, Alain Simon (France), took a trip to Kemerovo Oblast. R. Puchkov, a TRUD correspondent, spoke with him.

[Puchkov] What was the purpose of your trip?

[Simon] I wanted to take advantage of the opportunity given to me to become familiar with the situation in the oblast and meet with the rank-and-file miners and leaders of the local trade unions and with representatives of the STK [labor collective council] of Kemerovougol and members of the strike committee and the union of workers of Kuzbass. But conversations that interested me began even in Moscow, right after I arrived—in the commission of the central committee of the trade union of coal industry workers for monitoring the implementation of USSR Council of Ministers Decree No 608.

[Puchkov] And what were your impressions?

[Simon] A wide range of meetings enabled me to become more familiar with the situation. Above all, it became clear that the strikers want precisely socialism and more than socialism. But people from the West like myself cannot apply their customary schemes to local events since everything is considerably different here. We miners have said that the answer to the problems cannot be an American, French, or British answer. It must be a Soviet one. Only then will the answer have results.

My impressions are purely personal. They are not a guide to action. But perhaps they will awaken certain reflections. For example, I was surprised by the continuing existence of the strike committees. One could understand their creation before and during the strike: There was a lack of trust in party organs, the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions], and the Central Committee of the Trade Union of Coal Miners. But now that the main material demands have been satisfied, now that the workers are participating more in solving problems that pertain to them directly, perhaps they should return to the previous structures. The more so since they have been significantly updated. One cannot always be in a condition of strike readiness!

I was also surprised by the fact that a number of strike committee leaders were not elected to new trade union organs. Does this mean that they did not justify the trust placed in them? I was told that among them are simply blow-hards who do not really want to return to their previous positions in the mines and would prefer to sit on the strike committees. I got the impression that on the whole among the miners there is growing confidence in the renewed trade unions. Apparently now special attention should be given to the activity of the aforementioned commission of the central committee of the coal miners' trade union which is working in close contact at union and regional levels with other state and social commissions.

But there are different attitudes and different people among the miners. Those who conduct themselves like political activists. Some of them were in charge of strike committees and did a good job but then they were not elected, as I have already said, to head new trade union organs. They are returning to leadership activity through the Union of Workers of the Kuzbass. "What are you,"

I asked them, "a party or a trade union?" "Neither, we are an organization." "An organization for what?" "For protecting the interests of the workers."

Here I made a certain association with Poland. It also seemed to me that a certain influence from outside could be felt among the miners.

[Puchkov] How is this manifested?

[Simon] The strike regions had visitors from the United States, the FRG, and several other Western countries. They are inviting the strikers to their countries. The AFL-CIO is promising them \$3 million. From experience with other countries, I know that the AFL-CIO is not in the habit of just giving money away.

[Puchkov] Do you mean that there is danger in accepting help from abroad?

[Simon] Yes, there is. If you take the experience of other countries into account, you must be careful about accepting any help. You have to be even more cautious with those who are calling for help for the strikers and collecting money for them. In France we have had cases where they were collecting money for striking British miners and then it turned out that these "well-wishers" had nothing to do with the miners.

I repeat in conclusion that I am speaking about my own personal impressions. Of course, not everything is completely clear to me. In any case I would like to warn the Soviet miners about certain dangers for which they should be alert while they develop the strike movement. I hope that on this plane my visit will be of some use.

Food Situation in Sverdlovsk Worsens

904D0040A Moscow *RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA*
in Russian 6 Jan 90 p 2

[Article by V. Pankratov: "People Are Living in Expectation"]

[Text] Events in Sverdlovsk on 29 December last year are in the spotlight in the oblast center. At a meeting of the Sverdlovsk gorkom [city party committee], there was a discussion about the fact that an extremely tense situation has developed in the city in the supply of foodstuffs and industrial commodities for the population. Of the available stocks, there is a supply shortfall of a large number of meat products and other foodstuffs and industrial types of products.

The bureau meeting noted a sharp reduction in the assortment of products in schools, kindergartens, and public restaurant enterprises. This situation did not arise just today. These facts were made known to the government and to the CPSU Central Committee; nevertheless, the situation is not changing for the better. A decision was reached at a meeting of the people's deputies of the Sverdlovsk gorispolkom [city soviet executive committee] which calls on the residents of the city to remain calm, prudent, and responsible in their actions.

The members of the bureau of the gorkom of the party, the secretaries of the rayon and party committees, and the deputies of the Sverdlovsk city soviet have submitted a request to the government and the CPSU Central Committee to adopt urgent measures to provide food products to Sverdlovsk residents in accordance with their work contributions to the country's economy.

Ownership Law Seen as Move Toward Capitalism

PM1901112990 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 17 Jan 90 Second Edition p 3

[Article by S. Rodin, chief of the Economic Theory Department at the USSR State Planning Committee Higher Economic Course: "Several Axioms About Ownership"]

[Text] The impatience of keen perestroika supporters will soon be rewarded: Any moment now, the deciding final chord will resound and, to their delight, the mass breakdown of the existing economic system, which will be so torturous for the people, will start. A breakdown that will bring losses several times greater, in economic terms, than the losses from the Great Patriotic War. A breakdown fraught with great social and political shocks, the disintegration of society into the super-rich and the proletariat who will sell their labor on the manpower market. And it will not be 5 to 6 years, but 2 to 3 decades (while the new socioeconomic system is being formed) that will be needed to turn the USSR national economy into a market economy with all its obligatory attributes: mass unemployment, subsidies, soup kitchens, free overnight lodgings (from the philanthropic funds of cooperatives and private owners), and the completely free option for the homeless person of spending the night on a bench in a square or a park. The typical picture of bourgeois "paradise" has become a tangible prospect for a country that has made a gigantic leap from backwardness thanks to national economic planning—the greatest achievement of human civilization—and now the country is giving it up voluntarily by adopting the law on ownership!

Some people naively suppose that adopting the proposed law on ownership is a decisive step on the path to the "renewal of socialism." Yes, indeed, it is a decisive step, not in the direction of socialism but exactly in the opposite direction.

When we read the first point of the draft law, it seems that it concerns various forms of socialist ownership. Let us suppose that it looks like this: Socialism in the economic sense is the totality of various forms of ownership—state, cooperative, individual labor, and private (the latter is not directly mentioned, but it will become inevitable if the law is adopted). At the same time, state ownership will be preserved, as has already been openly stated, but restricted to 30%, and the rest will be covered by a plurality of forms. But this totality of forms of ownership turns the national economy into a conglomerate developing in an uncontrolled way which aims to satisfy the needs of individual owners, not the whole

nation. The state's opportunities to influence these uncontrolled elements will be restricted to the framework of indirect regulation, mainly through the financial system: taxes, credit, interest, and so on.

And here the first question arises: How will this system differ from the bourgeois system—the same plurality of forms of ownership, the same system of state regulation. It differs in practically nothing! For example, we could equally apply the first point of the draft law to France or Sweden, which some perestroika supporters are proposing as the model of socialism. There is only one thing that needs to be added: putting private ownership honestly into this pluralism.

But then the following question arises, which is of all but religious significance in today's times and which all the reformers are failing to answer: So what is the cardinal difference between capitalism and socialism?

Any economic system is not a collection of various forms of ownership, but a **system** of such forms. And the nature of the system of this collection comes from any form that becomes the dominant form (the leading form). Therefore the answer to the question is crystal clear and has been proved and applied a thousand times the world over: In one case (under capitalism) private ownership of the means of production dominates, and in the other (under socialism) it is public ownership that dominates.

If we go practically as far as denationalizing public property (and that is what the draft law intends)—that is, reducing it to 30% (for the time being!)—then what question can there be of any socialism?

This is the most elementary, the most self-evident interpretation of the problem. But this axiom is extremely inconvenient for the formulators of the draft law. And that is the reason for the new terms and ideas being thought up, for the glorifications and all kinds of invocations, such as overcoming the alienation of the worker and so on and so forth.

Therefore it is extremely important to broach this question, even if only briefly, and show what is hiding behind the notorious slogan of denationalizing ownership.

What is ownership? In theory, there are two interpretations of this phenomenon—a legal one and an economic one. The legal interpretation concerns relations between the subject and the object of appropriation—its use, disposal, and possession. This purely legal viewpoint now predominates also among those who are advocating or promoting the breakdown of the state sector in the national economy. The legal attitude does not allow the social nature of ownership to be revealed.

But back in K. Marx's times there arose—and it is still developing—the **economic** idea of ownership as a historical form of organizing social labor and production in which quite specific production relations and economic laws expressing their main point (or the relations between the main points) arise, function, and develop.

According to this interpretation, private ownership of the means of production is a form of production with its own economic laws which inevitably turns, in its historical development, into private capitalist ownership, which in turn becomes state monopoly ownership. Its dominance over other forms of ownership in a plurality of forms is an indisputable fact in France, Sweden, and any other bourgeois country. Surely some of our tourist-economists have not failed to see this, or see the fact that it is this very form that gives rise to man's exploitation by man, anarchy, unemployment, and other delights in the glittering shop windows.

Public ownership, in its turn, is a historical form of production in which completely different production relations and economic laws arise: the gearing of production to the benefit of all people (the basic law), the division of labor, the planned approach, competitiveness, and so on. That is, the whole totality of factors which, in the public consciousness, is also connected with the idea of scientific socialism. Behind this is the deeply humanistic nature of this system and its genuinely democratic nature. The problem of our times is restructuring the superstructure in the appropriate way.

More than that: It is in the framework of public ownership that so-called general communist principles, according to which socialism is the lowest phase of the communist mode of production, come into being.

It has always been clear to every Soviet person that the economic essence of socialism consists also in nationwide (state) ownership being economically dominant while also being legally equal to other forms. In this case, cooperative ownership **acquires** a socialist character, as V.I. Lenin said.

What results from this fact?

First of all, it made it possible to formulate the main task of the party's policy—to consistently carry out, taking the real possibilities into account, a policy of satisfying all the people's needs to an ever-greater degree. This made it possible to implement a policy geared to the universality of labor and to balance the economic and social development of the country by region and assess the results of public production only by taking into account participation in socially useful labor, and so on.

Another question is the proclamation of a policy and its implementation. Yes, another reader may say, the policy was constantly being proclaimed, but matters were practically brought to the crisis point in production and demand. This is really the heart of the problem: How to put into practice the slogan "The Good of the People is the Party's Highest Aim," which had been proclaimed for many years. This is an important separate question.

It is important to note here that if we narrow down the state production sector, then at the same time we will narrow the sphere of application of the economic laws of

socialism—the objective material basis for forming economic and social policy with a view to greater satisfaction of the people's needs. In other words, although we have an objective opportunity to formulate a policy (and then build an administrative system) geared to man and his increasing needs, and the real task consists in turning the opportunity into reality, tomorrow, when state ownership is cut to 30%, our objective possibility itself will disappear. Reduced to a servant role, state ownership will inevitably be transformed and will lose every vestige of its socialist nature.

In this way, denationalization, as can be inferred from the draft law on ownership, is virtual privatization, which its most open "advocates" admit straight out.

Meanwhile, the matter is not at all one of squandering state property (which V.I. Lenin categorically warned against) by transferring it to collectives, not to mention selling it through shares and so on. It is making sure that state ownership **acquires** its own genuine **nationwide** essence: The working class as a unified whole must become its real master through the Soviet power system, through real economic accountability, and so on, but not by just becoming a master in labor, but also in assessing and making use of its results.

An appropriate, that is, a really socialist and not an essentially market mechanism for managing this form of organization of social labor is needed for this. The principal difference between extending the market sphere and turning the state sector into a market structure must finally be understood. While the former requires a serious scientific solution, the latter is a degeneration of the economic system itself. Consequently, it is inadmissible.

One thing is indisputable: The introduction in the USSR of private ownership of means of production in any modification is not the way to growth in the well-being of all the people but a long road toward changing socialism to capitalism, which will be ruinous for the workers. If, of course, they agree to take this road.

Scientific

'Cosmos-2056' Satellite Launched 18 Jan

LD1901112290 Moscow TASS in English 1117 GMT
19 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 19 TASS—A Soviet Cosmos booster rocket put a satellite into an orbit on Thursday.

The Satellite, Cosmos-2056, is carrying scientific equipment intended for continuing the exploration of outer space.

The satellite was put into an orbit with the following parameters:

Initial period of revolution—100.8 minutes,
Maximum distance from the Earth's surface (in apo-
gee)—819 kilometers.

Minimum distance from the Earth's surface (in perigee)—779 kilometers,
Inclination of the orbit—74 degrees.

Apart from the scientific equipment, the satellite is carrying a radio system for the accurate measurement of orbital elements and a radio telemetric system for transmitting back to Earth data on the work of the instruments and scientific equipment.

The on-board equipment is operating normally.

The coordination-and-computer centre is processing the incoming data.

TASS Summarizes Cosmonauts' Experiments

*LD1901154190 Moscow TASS in English 1526 GMT
19 Jan 90*

[Text] Moscow January 19 TASS—TASS correspondent reports from the Mission Control Centre:

Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov are winding up another week of work in orbit.

The crew's programme of work in the last two days included technological and medico-biological experiments and preparations for a new spacewalk.

The cosmonauts' exit from the orbital complex will for the first time be through the airlock chamber of the Kvant-2 service module. For this purpose the cosmonauts re-activated equipment in the airlock chamber and are currently engaged in checking its operation.

On January 17, the cosmonauts began an experiment in space materials studies using the Gallar installation. During this technological process, which will take 200 hours, the spacemen plan to obtain a high-quality monocrystal of gallium arsenide, a semiconductor material.

According to telemetry, the on-board systems of the Mir manned complex are operating normally. The parameters of its orbit following Thursday's correction are as follows:

- maximum distance from the Earth's surface—430 kilometers,
- minimum distance from the Earth's surface—389 kilometers,
- period of revolution is 92.5 minutes,
- inclination—51.6 degrees.

Cosmonauts Viktorenko and Serebrov are in good health and feel well.